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FBIS-EEU-95-236 *8 December 1995*

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U.S. Diplomat to Head OSCE in Bosnia

AU0712160495 Paris AFP in English
1442 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Dec 7 (AFP)—A retired American career diplomat is to head the OSCE's peace mission in Bosnia, the European Union said here Thursday [7 December].

EU Commissioner for External Relations Hans van den Broek said the job was going to Robert Frowick, who last served as co-chairman of the US delegation to the Vienna sessions of the pan-European Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1986 to 1989.

"I haven't heard other names," he said here on the sidelines of a meeting of the OSCE.

Frowick, 65, was posted to Romania and Czechoslovakia during the height of the Cold War, and in Paris from 1969 to 1973 and Rome from 1979 to 1982.

He was political adviser to the US mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Brussels from 1982 to 1986.

Van den Broek's remark was taken as tacit confirmation of behind-the-scenes bargaining for the top posts in the peace mission launched by last month's accords for Bosnia-Hercegovina reached in Dayton, Ohio.

He said the EU's current mediator for the former Yugoslavia, Carl Bildt of Sweden, would coordinate civilian aspects of the Dayton accord.

OSCE foreign ministers met here Thursday at a conference to set up the OSCE mission that will supervise preparations for general elections in Bosnia.

OSCE President Condemns Situation in Kosovo

AU0712165295 Paris AFP in English
1609 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Dec 7 (AFP)—Laszlo Kovacs, president of the pan-European security body OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], hit out Thursday [7 December] at the situation facing non Serbs in several Serbian regions notably in Kosovo.

Kovacs, Hungarian foreign minister, voiced his concerns as he reviewed Hungary's year as rotating president of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Switzerland's Flavio Cotti takes over the presidency on January 1, 1996.

Kovacs was speaking shortly after the opening of a two-day secret session of foreign ministers from OSCE countries. The session is due to highlight the role of the 54-member body in the Bosnian peace process.

He said the OSCE had continued to look at the human rights situation in Kosovo, southern Serbia, Sandzak, a multi-ethnic area in southwestern Serbia and northeastern Montenegro and Vojvodina, northern Serbia, an area with a large ethnic Hungarian minority.

"The OSCE has received a steady stream of alarming reports concerning the general situation and in particular the human rights abuses in those areas," said Kovacs.

He added: "These reports indicate the situation in Kosovo is particularly grave and should, therefore, be addressed as a priority. Developments in the region underline the urgent need for the return of the OSCE missions of long duration.

"We hope to be able to establish a long-term presence in Croatia in the near future."

Kovacs said the objective of OSCE involvement would be to assist central and local authorities in democracy building, protection of human and minority rights and promoting the safe return of refugees.

"Through these efforts the OSCE can help promote the peaceful reintegration of formerly occupied territories," added Kovacs.

UN's Rehn Opposes Premature Refugee Repatriation

AU0712203895 Paris AFP in English
1920 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Helsinki, Dec 7 (AFP)—The UN human rights special envoy Elisabeth Rehn urged the international community Thursday [7 December] not to force Bosnian refugees to return home too quickly.

Rehn, who has just returned here from a week-long trip to Bosnia and Croatia, also vowed to investigate the disappearance of thousands of Bosnian Moslems after Serb forces overran the eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica last July.

Her comments came just two days after UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata unveiled an ambitious three-stage plan for the repatriation of almost 3 million refugees forced to flee their homes during four years of bitter war in ex-Yugoslavia.

Rehn told a press conference that the problem of displaced people inside Bosnia was already "one of the most difficult to resolve" and it was best not to complicate the situation.

"The governments (of countries that have taken in these refugees) must be sensible. The refugees must not be forced to return home," Rehn said, adding that their return was being discussed "much too soon."

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The UN special envoy, whose remit covers the former Yugoslavia, noted the case of Bosnians whose homes are now in areas controlled by their wartime enemies. "It's impossible for them to return to their homes," she said.

The Bosnian peace accord reached last month in the United States calls for the return of all refugees to their homes and respect for human rights in areas where they will be in the minority.

Under phase one of the UNHCR plan announced by Ogata, the estimated 1.2 million displaced people inside Bosnia would return home first, followed by those who fled to neighbouring countries, and finally those who had sought refuge further afield in Europe.

Ogata said the two-year plan would probably not be launched before the spring because of the difficulty of moving people during the harsh winter months.

According to the UNHCR some 800,000 people fled the conflict in Bosnia to neighbouring Croatia and Serbia, while another 700,000 became exiles in other European states.

Meanwhile Rehn said she planned to return to the Srebrenica area in January and hoped then to be able to investigate the reported nearby discovery of mass graves of Moslems who fled the town.

She denounced a lack of cooperation by local authorities, both Serb and Moslem. "The sides accuse each other and don't want to recognize the crimes that were committed. It is hard to find out the truth in such a situation," she added.

"I don't want to make a list of those responsible for crimes, but it is clear that the Moslems are those who have suffered the most. But they have also been guilty of crimes," Rehn said.

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New German Ambassador Meets Socialist Leaders

AU0712214595 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by "E.A.": "New German Ambassador Meets the Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hans-Peter Disdorn, the new German ambassador in Albania, has held a meeting lasting more than an hour and a half with the Socialist Party [PS]. Socialist hosts Kastriot Islami and Servet Pellumbi spoke to the new ambassador about many problems of PS and Albanian politics at a meeting, said by both sides for the purpose of "becoming acquainted." Mr. Disdorn declined to comment to the press after the meeting. "It was not a meeting for the press," the ambassador told KOHA JONE. Mr. Islami said the same, while Mr. Pellumbi commented that the meeting was held to get to know each other, and withheld any further remarks. The long meeting between the European superpower and the superpower of the Albanian opposition is known to have discussed at length the "Genocide Law" and its codicil "On Vetting Official Figures..." Islami explained to the German ambassador in the corridor of the PS building that he is among those affected by the Genocide Law, explaining to an interested Mr. Disdorn that the reason for this is that he was education minister in the final provisional government of February [1991] that carried Albania into its first pluralist elections. Thus, the PS has revived its offensive in international relations with the representative of Europe's most powerful country.

Serreqi Departs for Brussels NACC Summit

AU0712115495 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 6 Dec 95 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Serreqi Also Takes Part"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi left for Brussels to participate in the usual meeting of the foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC] member states. Albania's adherence in international institutions, including the military ones as well, presents a remarkable achievement and a principled orientation that testifies to the spirit of cooperation characterizing the current Albanian policy.

Opposition Welcomes Retention of Electoral Law

AU0712193995 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 7 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Arian Cani: "Electoral Law: Berisha Pleases the Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Berisha and the opposition are in complete agreement that the Electoral Law will not be changed for the forthcoming elections. "We agree to keep the old one," the head of state confirmed at a meeting with 13 political parties. Since yesterday, the so-called minor parties have no longer been living in fear of not entering the next parliament. The president has assured the parties that the threshold for entering parliament will be no higher than 4 percent. Berisha did not confirm the date of the elections, but said that they will take place before the legal deadline. There was pleasure on all sides, with smiles and messages of thanks from the opposition for the president's stand. "I promise you that we will go to the polls freely and peacefully," was another statement by Berisha that made the opposition breathe more easily. Even senior Socialist leader Servet Pellumbi declared himself "satisfied" at what Berisha said. The Republican Sabri Godo, the originator and chief protagonist of the movement in favor of the old Electoral Law, welcomed the agreement reached in Berisha's office yesterday and called it "a victory for Albanian politics." Democratic Alliance Deputy Afrim Jupi welcomed the agreement, but said that he had not represented the Democratic Alliance at the meeting. His party had not given him a mandate, and he had gone only after President Berisha had invited him by name. All the leaders of Albanian political parties appeared one after another yesterday at the gate of the presidency, driving off by car to their headquarters, where their colleagues awaited the good news.

Godo was the first politician to emerge as soon as the meeting ended. "I have to leave for Trieste," he told journalists, nevertheless implying that he had not left the meeting half-way through or without hearing the president's statement fulfilling the demand he and 13 other parties had raised. The Republican leader praised the president's statement about free and peaceful elections as "the main factor of political and electoral stability in Albania." Godo confirmed that Berisha had invited the representatives of the parliamentary parties to his table only the day before. "I asked the president to allow the participation of the 13 parties that signed the document in favor of the old Electoral Law." All these parties were present yesterday, and Godo confirmed that the nonparliamentary parties had perhaps been invited separately. Although he did not say that he had reminded the president of his demand, Godo did not deny such a thing. Servet Pellumbi, the first deputy chairman of the Socialist Party, said to journalists, "I appreciate the president's confirmation that the old law will remain, and I welcome the consensus we have reached." As for the promise of peaceful elections, Pellumbi said, "This is encouraging and must be accompanied by tangible steps." Other opposition politicians expressed similar views.

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Videnov, Slovakia's Meciar Discuss Cooperation

AU0712184795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first official visit of a Slovak governmental delegation to Bulgaria has begun. One hour after his arrival in Bulgaria, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar had a meeting with Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, which lasted almost one hour.

The two prime ministers exchanged opinions on the possibilities of intensifying cooperation both at the level of governments and the level of parliaments and other institutions.

The governmental leaders expressed their wish that the present volume of trade exchange—$23 million—become just a memory. They discussed the prospects of cooperation in transportation, power supply, and telecommunications projects.

After the meeting of the two prime ministers, a plenary meeting of the two delegations began, our correspondent Kalina Stancheva reports.

Zhelev Differs From BSP on NATO, Neutrality

AU0812081095 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Dec 95 p 23

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Madrid ABC correspondent Rafael Alvarado in Sofia; date not given: "Zhelev: The BSP Wants To Usurp the Media"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Alvarado] Dr. Zhelev, you said that it would be sad if the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] won the municipal elections in 1995. This is already a fact. Could you comment on this matter?

[Zhelev] This is not good for the development of Bulgarian democracy because the BSP won the parliamentary elections, and its victory in the municipal elections strengthens its position even more. [passage omitted]

[Alvarado] Mr. President, you often mention that the mass media are subjected to "brutal censorship" and that "alarming symptoms" are evident in this respect. Could you clarify what you have in mind?

[Zhelev] I think that the development of events show that this is a real threat for freedom of speech in Bulgaria. The attempts by the BSP parliamentary majority to control and directly guide the radio and television programs show that there really is a striving to usurp the mass media.

[Alvarado] You declared that you will run again for president. On the support of whose political forces are you relying?

[Zhelev] I will rely on the support of all democratic forces in Bulgaria, regardless of whether they are in parliament or outside and whether they are in the opposition or not. I think that I could be supported even by some BSP members, because even in their ranks there are prudent people who love their country.

[Alvarado] Dr. Zhelev, you are the founder of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] but this political formation does not tend to support you very much in the presidential elections. Are the contradictions between you and the SDS leadership really so deep?

[Zhelev] Many of the contradictions are on a personal basis—namely, on the basis of the inability of certain leaders to overcome past insults and offenses, despite the fact that I have many more reasons to feel insulted. It is simply immoral to be guided by personal motives. [passage omitted]

[Alvarado] Dr. Zhelev, it has been said that Bulgaria lacks a clear foreign policy and that the president is conducting a certain line while the government and the parliamentary majority another. Could you comment on this issue?

[Zhelev] After 1989, Bulgaria had and has a clear foreign policy with its main goals and priorities. The new government maintains that it adheres to the same priorities. Unfortunately however, we obviously begin to see certain things in a different way—for example, on the issue of joining NATO. The institution I represent—the Presidency—the entire parliamentary opposition, a large part of the extraparliamentary opposition, and certain other state institutions categorically support Bulgaria's quest to join NATO.

In this respect, the struggle is acquiring rather dramatic dimensions. There are great differences. NATO membership is of great importance not only for our national security, but for Bulgaria's place in the European and euro-atlantic community.

[Alvarado] Dr. Zhelev, the BSP has an anti-NATO attitude. However, certain circles within the BSP are launching the idea of neutrality. Do you think that neutrality is possible under the present conditions?

[Zhelev] Some people who support this idea do not clearly understand what it means. Others adhere to the idea because of speculative considerations. Neutrality, not only because of the aforementioned reasons, but in itself loses its meaning in the new architecture of security in Europe and the entire euro-atlantic space. Neutrality vis-a-vis who and what? Do they mean neutrality toward the common system of security that the world is constructing? [passage omitted]

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BSP Moves To Reverse DPS Success in Kurdzhali

AU0712160895

[FBIS Editorial Report] The municipal elections in the Kurdzhali Region (an area in southeast Bulgaria predominantly populated by Bulgarians of Turkish origin) continue to be a source of friction between the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the opposition Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS, a party of the ethnic Turkish minority). The DPS candidate, supported by a coalition of opposition parties, defeated an independent candidate supported by the BSP in the 12 November runoff (Sofia Khorizont Radio, 13 Nov).

The BSP, acting through Khaskovo Oblast Administrator Angel Naydenov, has blocked the inaugural meeting of the Kurdzhali City Council pending a decision by the Khaskovo Court on the legality of the elections. In response, the DPS recruited President Zhelev's help. A meeting between Dogan and Zhelev on 30 November resulted in a promise by Zhelev to discuss the matter with Prime Minister Videnov (Sofia Khorizont Radio, 30 Nov). The promised meeting took place the following day, but, in a statement for the press afterward, Videnov simply reiterated the BSP position that the convocation of the Kurdzhali Council depended on the decision of the Khaskovo Court (Sofia Khorizont Radio, 1 Dec).

The Council of Ministers also issued a statement on 30 November, in response to what it called Dogan's "ultimatums," stressing that the government is "thoroughly familiar" with its obligations under Bulgarian law, and that it will recognize the decision of the Bulgarian court (Sofia Khorizont Radio). Sofia radio carried the statement in full, immediately following the report on the Dogan-Zhelev meeting.

Said To Add 'Ethnic Tension'

AU0712184895 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 4 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "BSP Has Been Preparing Ethnic Hostility for Two Years"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—Prime Minister Zhan Videnov told the closed plenum of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held in Sofia on 2 December that administrative means would be used to force a settlement of the "Kurdzhali problem." DEMOKRATSIYA was informed of this by persons who attended the closed plenum. On 1 December the prime minister vowed that the court's ruling will put a stop to the scandal of the election results. However, the real intentions of the Socialists are to increase ethnic tension in the region. The prime minister reportedly promised his party colleagues that in 1997, when the full text of the Law on Administrative and Territorial Division comes into force, the BSP will submit an amendment to it on splitting up Kurdzhali Municipality.

Videnov allegedly boasted at the plenum that he put this idea to President Zhelev when they met on 1 December. "Zhelev was taken aback, evidently he had not foreseen this danger," Videnov told the party forum, according to our source.

As long ago as last June, when the Law on the Divisioning of Sofia, Plovdiv, and Varna was being passed, BSP Deputy Kalin Dimitrov tried to include a clause on dividing up Kurdzhali Municipality in the bill's transitional and concluding provisions. His idea could not be accepted because the Law on Territorial Divisions had already been adopted, under which only towns with over 300,000 inhabitants can be divided into districts. Milko Bagdasarov, chief of the BSP organization in Kurdzhali, reportedly told the plenum that the party members who failed to support the bill at the time are responsible for the loss of Socialist votes in Kurdzhali. Videnov admitted that he was one of them, because, in principle, he is against settling political disputes by administrative measures. However, in the case of Kurdzhali he could not see any other solution. According to our source, he said that it had become clear to him that the Socialists' problem there could not be resolved by political means.

Members of the BSP Supreme Council and Socialist deputies took the floor one after another to predict the future apocalypse—the birth of a "Turkish enclave in Kurdzhali." This enclave would become an independent economic entity if the DPS managed to persuade the surrounding municipalities to enter into an association. According to Stefan Stefanov, a former National Assembly deputy, member of the BSP Supreme Council, and one of the BSP leaders in the district, what the Socialists do not like is that 160 Turkish companies are registered in Kurdzhali. "They are taking us over!" he wailed, and declared that Turkish is spoken in all public facilities, and that in Kurdzhali "one feels ashamed to ask for bread in Bulgarian." "Unless something is done, within four years there will be no Bulgarians left in the town," Stefanov claimed. His thesis differed from Videnov's intentions to divide Kurdzhali into several municipalities. This recasting of the administrative map is based on the premise that the ethnic Turks live in the surrounding villages, while the town itself is largely inhabited by Bulgarians. In October the BSP and its satellite parties campaigned for an ethnic vote, expecting that all the Bulgarians in Kurdzhali would support the Socialist candidate. However, this did not happen, because the supporters of the SDS [Union of Democratic

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Forces] and People's Union supported Rasim Musa in the second round of the election.

Stefan Stefanov reportedly wanted a third ballot in the municipal election, to which international observers would be invited, but not Turkish diplomats. However, Bulgarian legislation does not provide such a possibility.

BSP Plenum Discusses DUMA, Local Elections

AU0712204295 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 4 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Iva Petroni: "Plot by Special Services Against Videnov?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to informed sources, at the closed plenum of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] held at the party headquarters in Sofia on 2 December, Mikhail Danov, the former economic director of Duma Press Limited, alleged that a plot against Zhan Videnov's cabinet and the new BSP political line were two of the scandals connected with the financing of the DUMA newspaper. According to Danov, the plot was hatched by the Presidency, the special services, political competitors, and persons within the BSP itself. He said that DUMA Editor in Chief Stefan Prodev had been unwittingly drawn into the machinations.

Mikhail Danov reportedly made these claims in response to Stefan Prodev's accusations that Danov and the old Duma Press management had cheated the newspaper out of millions. According to Prodev, they cooperated with the dubious Orion group, which also had links with Zhan Videnov's entourage. Prodev alleged that Orion and Nikolay Krivoshiev openly interfered in the newspaper's affairs, acting for the benefit of foreign economic interests. Krivoshiev himself had served a term in prison.

People who attended the closed plenum say that Videnov did not express a view on the affair. The plenum ordered a new audit of Duma Press and decided to accept Krivoshiev's share in the company without compensation, which will increase the BSP Supreme Council's share of the company to 51 percent. The Duma Press businesses will be managed by BSP Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Georgi Purvanov.

The party has not adopted a clearcut position regarding big capital and major economic groupings, and this has led to a falling away of votes in the local elections, speakers at the plenum declared. The plenum that was supposed to clarify these relations has now been pending for several months.

According to the Socialist leadership, the loss of 720,000 votes was due to the poor performance of the previous local administrations. In the large towns, the main reasons were poor organization on the part of the local party structures and the late start of the election campaign.

DPS Planning 'Ethnic Privatization Funds'

AU0812080895 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Radka Petrova: "Ankara Is Preparing for Our Privatization Process"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A powerful holding company in Istanbul and a Turkish bank will pour money into the privatization funds that the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] plans to form in Bulgaria, diplomats reported yesterday. The Turkish Koc Holdings and Exim Bank will invest additional money in the funds that Dogan wants to form with the vouchers of all the Bulgarian Turks. A brains trust at the DPS headquarters in Sofia has reportedly worked out a mechanism to pool the money in a number of privatization funds in Bulgaria that are in fact ethnically based, but informed sources claim that the original idea came from influential Turkish business circles.

Gyulbie Receb, deputy chairman of the DPS parliamentary group, told DUMA yesterday that a group at DPS headquarters is working on a mechanism for the DPS members to take part in the upcoming privatization, but she declined to give any further details about the movement's specific intentions. Activists from the DPS municipal leaderships will make house visits in all the districts in which the DPS controls the local government and will persuade people to hand over their investment vouchers worth 25,000 leva to the funds that Dogan has devised, sources in the DPS parliamentary group report. It is believed that the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarians Turks will obey the directive, which the DPS leaders have announced is intended for their true salvation.

In this way, the DPS will participate in the first round of the voucher privatization, during which centralized auctions will he held for quotas of shares in individual enterprises and companies.

There is no longer any state policy for the tobacco industry in Bulgaria; I have been working on the problem for the last nine months and have thought of a solution, Ahmed Dogan warned in October. The tobacco sector is one of the DPS' strategic goals in the voucher privatization, and this is the very reason why it needs the ethnic funds. The DPS will also test its strength in the planned sale of 25 percent of the shares of the Kurdzhali Lead and Zinc Combine, one of the leading

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structure-determining companies, but may not be able to counter powerful competitors in the sector.

The ethnic privatization funds devised by Dogan, which will contain purely Turkish capital in addition to the vouchers that they collect, should first of all obtain operating licenses and court registrations, members of the Parliamentary Economic Commission explained. In this way, they will operate as financial institutions and will be able to purchase companies or shares. Experts explained that a special commission, which the Council of Ministers is to appoint in accordance with the provisions of the Securities Act, will be responsible for issuing licenses to the privatization funds. However, no announcements on the granting of licenses are expected before March or April next year.

Experts Warn of 'Wave of New Pyramid Companies'

AU0712162395 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 5 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[24 CHASA "staff report": "Danger of New Pyramid Companies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the forthcoming mass privatization, Bulgaria may be flooded by a wave of new pyramid companies, speculating this time with privatization vouchers. This emerged from an analysis made by the Criminal Research Council of the Chief Prosecutor's Office that was made public on 4 December. "Organized crime in Bulgaria will exploit the gaps in the law to gather investment money into mass privatization pyramid funds," the council's chairman Boyan Stankov declared.

He added that the level of crime in Bulgaria had reached the saturation point, yet the state has no national program for combating crime. According to the Criminal Research Council, in 1994 alone, the Interior Ministry recorded 79 cases of corruption. The crime experts have no figures on corruption for the current year.

According to the experts, there is no legal barrier to the mafia structures registering their own mass privatization funds to scoop up the citizens' vouchers. Almost 500,000 Bulgarians lost their money in pyramid operations like East-West, Life Choice, and others. The victims of the future "voucher" pyramid bosses may be far more numerous, given that over 6 million adult Bulgarians will receive voucher books to take part in the mass privatization.

In the criminologists' view, the fight against crime in Bulgaria has been artificially divided up among the government departments with responsibilities in this field. "Nothing is being done to ensure that the three types of power join forces in a combined program," Stankov said, adding that Berov's anticrime measures remained a bureaucratic dead letter, while the Videnov cabinet's only action has been to issue decrees.

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Minister Comments on Peace Mission to Bosnia

LD0712183095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan has commented on Czech troops' participation in the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. Pavel Rijacek reports:

[Rijacek] Soldiers may encounter various difficulties in the former Yugoslavia, although their mission also has a certain contribution to make, Holan said.

Before World War II, small nations were put in jeopardy because the larger nations did not want to expose their troops to risks. However, our present day considerations should be different. European culture and world civilization are held together by the ability and readiness to render assistance to endangered regions, and that is an urgent and essential matter, Minister Holan said.

He also stressed that the soldiers were not going to war but that their task was to maintain peace. They will be rather well armed, but that is first and foremost to strengthen their safety and security in defensive positions.

The Czech Army should contribute about 200 million Czech korunas [Kc] to the mission. It should also supply armaments and equipment worth Kc560 million. The Army would bring forward most of these costs from its budgets for the years to come and will thus purchase in advance some items that it would otherwise buy later.

According to military experts, the area of deployment of Czech troops is not free of risk, but it is not one of the high-risk areas.

Prague To Appoint Ambassador to Yugoslavia

LD0712174595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1305 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec 7 (TANJUG)—The Czech Government has decided to raise the level of its diplomatic representation in Yugoslavia and to appoint an ambassador in Belgrade, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has said.

Klaus told reporters late Wednesday that the move came in reaction to a change in the situation in Yugoslavia. He said that the Czech Republic was at present represented at a lower level in Yugoslavia although it had an embassy in Belgrade.

Klaus did not disclose the name of the new ambassador, explaining that Yugoslavia should first give consent for the proposed official. He said that the government had not proposed a politician but a career diplomat.

Currently, charge d'affaires Ivan Dusniek is the official with the highest rank in the Czech Embassy in Belgrade.

The United Nations Security Council in May 1992 imposed comprehensive sanctions on the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

The sanctions were suspended on November 22, 1995, one day after the initialling of the Dayton peace accord on Bosnia, which created conditions for the normalization of Yugoslavia's international relations.

Czechs, Slovaks Preparing for U.S. T[illegible] Transit

LD0712195295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 7 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec. 7 (TANJUG)—The Czech and Slovak Republics have begun technical, administrative, and other preparations for the railway transport through its territory of about 20,000 U.S. troops and their arms and equipment from NATO bases in Germany to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Czech Government on Wednesday evening gave its approval for the transit of men and materiel which are part of the international peace force in Bosnia under NATO's command.

However, the Czech Constitution envisages that transit of foreign troops and weaponry via Czech territory must be approved also by national parliament, which is currently in session.

According to unofficial figures, it is estimated that 'several hundred trains' will be necessary for the transport of these troops and weaponry. According to the valid tariffs, the Czech Republic would receive about 50,000 German marks for each train.

The troops will be transported over a number of days in up to 12 trains daily.

Slovakia has already made plans for this transport at the Ministries of Transport, Defense, and Foreign Affairs. Things are less complicated here, because this country's constitution does not call for the parliament's approval on this issue.

Most Czechs, however, are opposed to their country sending troops for the peace operation in Bosnia.

This is the result of a poll organized by a popular TV show, 'ARENA', in which viewers voted for or against sending Czech troops to Bosnia.

The poll was preceded by an interesting TV debate, in which Deputy Defense Minister Petr Necas spoke in favor of sending troops to Bosnia, and former Defense

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Minister Miroslav Vacek and Marie Stiborova of the leftist bloc gave counter-arguments.

After the debate, 7,225 viewers voted against sending Czech troops to Bosnia, and 6,184 viewers voted in favor of this.

The Czech Republic should send a combat battalion of up to 1,000 troops to Bosnia.

Finance Ministry Reviews State Debt Development

AU0812080295 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by "ros": "State Indebtedness Keeps Declining"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Czech Republic's state debt currently amounts to 155.7 billion Czech korunas [Kc], which is 13 percent of the GDP. State debt as a proportion of the GDP has been continuously declining for the past two years, Ludmila Nutilova, the Finance Ministry spokeswoman, told DENNI TELEGRAF.

Internal debt, which is one of the two parts of the state debt, consists of direct obligations toward the Czech National Bank and commercial banks and of obligations in the form of state bonds. External indebtedness comprises direct credits extended in the past and taken over from Ceskoslovenska Obchodna Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank] and government credits drawn in the years 1991-93 to prop up the balance of payments. The Czech Republic has a very low level of debt in relation to the GDP. Last year it amounted to Kc157.3 billion, which was 15.2 percent of the GDP. The government assumes that the amount of the state debt will remain approximately the same this year. In view of the growing GDP, however, it will decline in relative terms. According to Eduard Janota, director of the Finance Ministry's State Budget Department, it is realistic to expect that the budget surplus, which should reach about Kc9 billion this year, will also be used to reduce state debt.

Army Stealing Spare Parts From Mothballed Planes

AU0812080595 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Ferdinand Peroutka: "The Problems Facing the Army Pilots Are Mounting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of complaints from military pilots about the lack of funds for pilot training has been mounting recently. There is a shortage of spare parts in the storehouses for fighter aircraft, and there are also difficulties in providing funds to purchase fuel and oil.

Defense Minister Vilem Holan was supposed to have discussed the trying situation yesterday with the commander of the air base in Caslav, Colonel Oldrich Horak. Talks were also supposed to have been held here with the mayors of the communities affected by the airfield's operation about a compromise solution to operating the airfield and acquiring new apartments for the pilots. However, as Horak told TELEGRAF, the minister's visit was called off at the last moment.

An emergency solution to the shortage of spare parts at some bases has been found by their being "stolen" from mothballed aircraft. The experts have objected to this "cannibalism," and, at the moment, consideration is being given to whether spare parts should not be imported from Russia within the framework of settling Russia's debt to the Czech Republic. According to the commander of the military air base in Namesti nad Oslavou, Colonel Jiri Kubala, the government disagrees with this solution.

Minister Holan said in Olomouc yesterday that there are problems in the training of the airborne units with regard to navigation and the ability to distinguish between our own and foreign aircraft. According to him, there are also difficulties in the firing system and its accuracy and in the ability to engage in combat at night. In the opinion of the minister, these facts are "absolutely clear and transparent," and, therefore, the ministry has "to orient its efforts primarily toward rectification" in these spheres. Consideration is also being given to obtaining the funds to eradicate the technical shortcomings by means of a further reduction in the number of Army personnel. The minister sees such savings as a means of eliminating the troops' lack of technical skill and, therefore, as the main reinforcement for the Army in the event of a military conflict.

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Commander Views Slovak IFOR Battalion

AU0712144695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by "job": "Slovak Sappers Will Be Under NATO Command"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The replacement of 184 members of the Slovak Sappers Battalion serving as part of the UN peacekeeping forces on the territories of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina took place at the Milan Rastislav Stefanik airport in Bratislava yesterday. The new unit underwent two months of training at the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] base in Nitra. According to Colonel Rastislav Smehlik, commander of the Slovak Sappers Battalion, yesterday's rotation of Slovak soldiers was probably the last one. The unit will be transferred from the UN peackeeping forces to the joint NATO command.

The territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be divided into three zones—American, French, and British. The Slovak sappers' unit will be discharging its duties in the zone of the American division, in the area stretching from Banja Luka to Tuzla.

Slovaks Will Not Fight

The battalion has 606 soldiers at present, but its gradual reduction to 406 persons is being prepared. As Col. Smehlik, the unit's commander, told SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, Slovak sappers will not become directly involved in fighting operations but will be meeting the same tasks as heretofore—that is, they will be building and reconstructing roads, bridges, and accommodation facilities. The soldiers are equipped only with hand-held firearms—machine guns and pistols. Their protection will be safeguarded by the U.S. Army. [passage omitted]

Costs Not Yet Determined

The Slovak Sappers Battalion will be a reserve force for the IFOR (Implementation Force) supreme command—that is, it will be outside the area of possible fighting. Moreover, Col. Smehlik does not expect any major combat operations to take place. The unit's escort [by NATO combat units] will be secured for each of its assignments. According to the sappers' commander, the Slovak battalion will be incorporated into the system of NATO troops as of 1 January 1996. As he added, this will be, in fact, of no practical significance, except that the soldiers' designation and some elements in the command system will change. Rastislav Smehlik said that the Slovak unit is acceptable also for the local population because the reconstruction of communication links is also in its interest. As he added, the costs for Slovakia associated with financing the sappers unit have not yet been precisely determined, and also the duration of its stay will probably depend on the allocated sum.

Language Law Is Internal Affair of Slovakia

LD0812113595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovakia has given a negative reply to a letter from the Hungarian foreign minister suggesting that Budapest and Bratislava jointly approach the Council of Europe on the issue of the [Slovak state] language law. This was confirmed in essence by Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk in his replies to questions from our Budapest correspondent, Gregor Martin Papucsek, before today's meeting with Laszlo Kovacs:

[Begin Schenk recording] We believe that the passage of the state language law is an internal matter for the Slovak Republic, especially because it does not affect minority languages or the rights of ethnic minorities.

Second, we do not believe this is a bilateral conflict in any way, which is another reason we feel there is no justification for such a course of action, and we absolutely do not believe that this problem should be put on an international footing.

In spite of that, we are prepared to hold talks if necessary with our Hungarian partners in the spirit of the treaty we have signed. Our position is absolutely clear. We deal with our own problems ourselves. If we have any bilateral problems, we are prepared to discuss them, and our state interests serve as the limit. [end recording]

Official Dismisses Kovac's Objections to Inquiry

AU0812080695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 6 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Unfounded Objections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lieutenant Colonel Jan Kostov, director of the Section for Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses of the Slovak Republic Police Corps [PZ], yesterday issued a statement on President Michal Kovac's letter of 27 November 1995, addressed to Imrich Andrejcak, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Defense and Security Affairs Committee. In the letter, Michal Kovac refers, among other things, to problems of the Slovak Ministry of Interior, disagreements between agencies, the dismissal of investigators of the case by an unauthorized person, and the like.

The statement notes: "The investigation of the criminal act of abduction abroad, according to Article 233 of the Penal Code, in which Michal Kovac Jr. is the damaged

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party, was carried out by Major Jaroslav Simunic from the Bratislava PZ Regional Office of Investigation. On 8 September 1995, his superior took him off the case because the PZ investigator refused to proceed in accordance with crime investigation principles and internal legal norms, and because he turned the case into a media event [medializoval pripad], which resulted in the threat of leaks of secret information. He refused to work out an investigation plan and also asked to be released from PZ services according to Article 109 of Law No. 410/1991 on the employment of PZ members. The superior was authorized to take the investigator off the case by virtue of his position and, more specifically, on the basis of instruction No. 7/1995, Article 4, Section 3, Letter c), issued by the director of the PZ Section for Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses. In other words, the investigation file was not withdrawn from the investigator by an unauthorized person, as is implied in the aforementioned letter."

The second investigator, Peter Vacok, was taken off the case on 17 October 1995 by the overseeing prosecutor in accordance with Article 174, Section 2, Letter f) of the Penal Code. Therefore, even in this case, the investigator was not taken off the case by an unauthorized person. (Note: Article 174, Section 2, Letter f) of the Penal Code reads: "In executing his supervisory duties, the prosecutor is authorized to take the designated investigator off any case and take measures to assign the matter to another investigator.")

Regarding disagreements between the Slovak Information Service (SIS) and the PZ, to which the president refers in his letter, Jan Kostov notes that PZ investigators, as well as the leadership of the PZ Section for Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses, proceed according to the Penal Code and coordinate relations to the extent of the valid agreement between SIS and the PZ. Regarding relations with other services within the PZ's framework, the Section for Investigations [and Criminal Expert Analyses] coordinates activity with them in accordance with the relevant internal departmental regulations, and it assesses the standard of these relations as very good. Cooperation between PZ Offices of Investigation and prosecutor's offices is being assessed at individual levels in a similar fashion.

For the above reasons, Jan Kostov considers Slovak President Michal Kovac's objections to be unfounded.

State Secretary at Ministry of Finance Replaced

AU0812080395 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Alica Durianova: "Rudolf Autner, State Secretary at the Ministry of Finance, Recalled at His Own Request"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—At its 49th regular meeting yesterday, the Government of the Slovak Republic discussed by 1500 only five items of the planned agenda. The first two items concerned the replacement of the state secretary at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic. The government recalled Rudolf Autner from this post at his own request and appointed Engineer Tatiana Silhankova to this position. Rudolf Autner had been state secretary at the Ministry of Finance already in Meciar's previous government, when Julius Toth was minister of finance. His responsibilities comprised relations with international financial institutions, the unfreezing of Slovak claims abroad, and the banking sphere. According to a communique from the Cabinet meeting, Mr. Autner is interested in working in banking. Tatiana Silhankova used to work in Ceskoslovenska Obchodna Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank], Tatra Banka, and, since 16 September 1995, she was deputy director general of Devin Banka. The dismissal of Jozef Magula, the second state secretary at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic, who is involved in the PSIS [Prva Investicna Investicna Spolocnost: First Slovak Investment Company] affair, was not discussed by the Cabinet yesterday. [passage omitted]

State Secretary Questions Impartiality of Court

AU0812080495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by "vt": "When Will the PSIS Administer Sporofond Again?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Jozef Magula, state secretary at the Ministry of Finance, does not yet know when the Ministry of Finance will transfer the administration of Sporofond and two other mutual funds back to Prva Slovenska Investicna Spolocnost [First Slovak Investment Company; PSIS], which the ministry is obliged to do on the basis of a Supreme Court decision of last week. The Supreme Court verdict does not set any deadline for doing this. "These are extremely serious matters. We are still analyzing the situation, but we are not going needlessly to delay the restoration of the funds' administration [to the PSIS]," Jozef Magula told PRAVDA.

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According to the state secretary, the ministry will respect the Supreme Court decisions, although it disagrees with them. "The court did not respect the law, and its decisions in the cases of PSIPS [Banska Bystrica-based investment fund, which the Finance Ministry deprived of its license earlier this year] and PSIS were clearly not made from an impartial position," Jozef Magula said. "The court interpreted laws in its own way, to which I would not object. However, in some cases it did not respect valid laws at all and assumed the position of the legislator," he added.

Giving an example, he said that the Supreme Court challenged the Finance Ministry's decision on the basis of the fact that, in the opinion of the court, a promissory note is not a security, even though the law on securities clearly defines promissory notes as securities. Jozef Magula also regards as incomprehensible the Supreme Court's reaction to the ministry's complaint regarding the Banska Bystrica-based PSIPS. According to Magula, in this reaction the Supreme Court acknowledged that the [lower] court had been too liberal toward one party in the dispute. He also considers peculiar the fact that "the female judge barred the ministry from applying even those findings she had recognized as correct."

Asked by PRAVDA whether the possibility is being considered of allowing investment funds that had extended loans to citizens for registration for the second wave of coupon privatization to receive from them bonds [that will replace coupon books], so that citizens can settle their liability, Magula said that no reason exists for making this possible.

He considers relations between citizens and funds to be relations under the civil law, on which he has no reason to comment. He is convinced, however, that, when the moment of truth comes, the investment funds will have problems to prove that citizens really are under an obligation to pay. "This is not to say that citizens should not pay heed to the commitments they assume," Magula added.

[Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak on 6 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word report by Michal Pinter entitled "For the Third Time in Disfavor of the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic." The report notes that, on 5 December, the PSIS received a Supreme Court verdict that abolishes the Finance Ministry's decision of 31 March 1995 and the finance minister's decision of 11 July 1995 on the imposition of "forced administration" on three more PSIS-managed investment funds [IF]—First Privatization IF, Guaranteed IF, and Golden IF. The report points out that this was already the third instance of the Supreme Court's declaring Finance Ministry sanctions against investment funds "unlawful."]

Commentary: Sestak Engages in Bolshevist Thinking

AU0812101295 Bratislava SME in Slovak 6 Dec 95 p 4

[Commentary by Peter Toth: "Sestak's Diplomacy and Divisions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is a public secret that Slovak Foreign Minister J. Schenk fulfills a decorative role in his post. The prime minister considers himself to be the real architect of our foreign policy but has selected Foreign Ministry State Secretary J. Sestak as its main executor. At a time when the coalition does not know how to come to terms with the ratification of the basic Slovak-Hungarian treaty that V. Meciar signed with the braggadocio peculiar to him, State Secretary Sestak has declared in advocating it that the treaty "is not an ideal one with regard to Slovakia's state interests (...); Hitler concluded ideal treaties when he had 150 divisions on the border and had dictated to the other side what he wanted." Such a statement is an example of bolshevist thinking. That is, one absurd implication protrudes from the remarks made by Foreign Ministry State Secretary Sestak: According to the main executor of our foreign policy, "ideal" international relations can only be established on the basis of brute force. By the way, it was none other than Josif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili Stalin who was incredibly impressed by Hitler's pressure game, and it was from this admiration that the secret Soviet-German pact on the prewar partition of Europe eventually evolved. Let us recall the anschluss of Austria, the Munich diktat, the Soviet occupation of the Baltic republics, and the Soviet-German partition of Poland.

Who knows what kind of conclusions Hungarian diplomacy will draw from the comments made by State Secretary J. Sestak. Undoubtedly, however, they will not lead to the "brightening" of Hungarian-Slovak relations or to the Slovak Republic's improved credibility in the eyes of the EU and NATO. Peaceful and constructive international relations have always been established only on the basis of compromise, not through diktat. Fortunately, Slovakia does not have at its disposal the relevant military potential that could lend weight to the words of J. Sestak. It is, however, incontestable that the head of our diplomacy has shown himself in a light that is dangerously reminiscent of the logic of the way of thinking of the representative of Russian imperialist interests, General Lebed.

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HZDS Appoints New Spokesperson

AU0712161895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by "ad": "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Has a Spokeswoman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Political Board decided Monday [4 December] night to appoint Zuzana Hudova director of the HZDS Public Opinion Department. As of the same day, she was also entrusted with the post of the movement's spokeswoman. She replaces in both posts Stanislav Haber, who resigned at his own request.

Political observers linked Haber's departure to the HZDS statement on the European Parliament resolution [of 16 November] in which Stanislav Haber stated that it reminds the HZDS of times when Nazi Germany's fuehrer and the leaders of the Soviet Union in 1968 first mailed demarches to states and occupied them with tanks later on. A number of HZDS officials, including HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar, subsequently dissociated themselves from this view of the former chairman of the Public Opinion Department. After using up his vacation, Haber will supposedly take up a leading position with a certain progovernment daily.

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Kovacs: Slovak Language Law Solution Possible

LD0812131695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In Budapest, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] conference has continued today. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] [Passage omitted] In parallel with the morning session, ministers held separate talks in the Budapest Congress Center. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs held talks with French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette, who only arrived at the conference yesterday evening. He asked the Hungarian Government, among other things, to help with finding the two French pilots kept as prisoners in Bosnia.

Mr. Kovacs said his discussion with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk focussed on what can be done after the adoption of the Slovak language law:

[Begin Kovacs recording] A possible solution is the adoption of a separate bill on the regulation of the usage of minority languages in line with international standards. The Slovak foreign minister expressed the willingness of Slovakia, the Slovak Government, for this. I urged him to involve by all means the representatives of the Hungarians in Slovakia, the representatives of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia, and the experts of the competent European organizations, that is, the Council of Europe and OSCE. My Slovak colleague agreed with this. [end recording]

Nemeth on Army Reorganization, Demobilization

AU0812103295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 95 p 9

[Report by unidentified correspondent on interview with Lieutenant General Sandor Nemeth, army chief of staff; place and date not given: "Army Reorganization Has Begun"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The leadership of the Hungarian army is prepared for the expected serious wave of retirement among professional soldiers and civilian employees in the wake of the army reorganization planned for the next two years. The Defense Ministry allocated a total of 3.4 billion forints [Ft] for demobilization aid and severance pay—Sandor Nemeth, Hungarian army chief of staff, told us.

Sandor Nemeth also told us that almost 70 barracks and other buildings (like training and storage facilities, officers' clubs) will be eliminated by 1998. The mechanized rifle brigade of Nagykanizsa will be the biggest unit that will "fall victim" to this reorganization. Several hundred active professional soldiers and civilian employees will have to leave this unit. The brigade in Abasar will also cease to exist, and the same fate awaits the tank units in Kalocsa and the rifle brigade in Nyiregyhaza. Emptying the barracks will take place gradually: some units will not be dismantled until 1998.

In view of the reduction in personnel, the army staff decided on the type of units to be maintained and their framework. Sandor Nemeth admitted that serious debates preceded the decisions. In accordance with the decision, three brigades have to be formed, brigades that can be deployed quickly and are able to react to conflicts below the threshold of war. First in this group will be the 25th Mechanized Rifle Brigade in Tata, whose organizational structure resembles the one accepted in NATO. For example, in addition to knowing English, the commanders will know and use NATO's leadership and guidance principles.

We learned that the heads of units affected by the aforementioned reorganization were not taken totally by surprise because, beginning with 1 November, army heads kept visiting the various units slated for elimination and held staff meetings where they informed the soldiers about the pace of the elimination and the gradual withdrawal of personnel. They also informed the units about the ministry's so-called human policy package, namely, the possibilities of financial support.

Sandor Nemeth stressed that public employees will be the real losers of the army reorganization. The current personnel of 21,000 people will be reduced to 7,800 by December 1998. The number of officers will also be reduced by one-third: from the current 12,500 to 9,000. At the same time, officials hope that the professional soldiers who remain in the army will receive better working and living conditions in time.

Nemeth said that the army leadership is prepared for the possibility that many professional soldiers from the eliminated units may not accept the offered transfers and will leave the army. People over fifty will obviously make use of the opportunity to retire early. At individual discussions that started recently, every officer can learn about the opportunities according to his own grade and position.

Sandor Nemeth was glad to mention that the army's cooperation with the Border Police and the Police has become closer recently. The aforementioned two armed organizations are ready to take on a certain number of professional soldiers who are affected by demobilization. The Police will start a retraining course for these people next January.

The Defense Ministry will provide demobilization aid to these people in accordance with their years of service and family conditions, a maximum amount of one year

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of their salaries. The ministry planned to pay Ft3.2 billion to professional soldiers and civilian employees leaving the army in 1996. The Finance Ministry will provide half of this sum. A total of Ft 1.3 billion is planned for the same purpose in 1997, and Ft 1.4 billion in 1998.

The equipment and arms of the eliminated military units will be transferred to the remaining brigades and units. The obsolete and faulty equipment that can only be repaired with difficulty will be withdrawn from use.

Sandor Nemeth told us that one must take into consideration the emergence of serious shortcomings at the units slated for final dismantling, shortcomings that could have been there for years. The partial inventory ordered recently is aimed at making sure that valuable things do not disappear in the course of dismantling the units.

Answering our question on the fate of the empty buildings, Sandor Nemeth said that the long-term goal is to sell them. For the time being, however, the buldings in question remain under army management. Thus, the costs of guarding and maintenance will be fully covered by the army.

Article Urges Revision of Romanian Border

AU0712161995 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Dec 95 p 8

[Article by Erno Raffay: "Romanian-Hungarian Controversy—Is Rapprochement Possible?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rapprochement generally requires some kind of conflict that is not irreconcilable. The Romanian-Hungarian dispute became fatal when the Romanian Army occupied and pilfered eastern Hungary in 1918-19 and when the Trianon peace dictate of 1920 sanctioned this situation according to international law. Since then, the main goal of every Romanian Government has been to keep the acquired territories and goods and to homogenize every aspect of life domestically. This has been asserted not only from an ethnic viewpoint, but also from the economic, legal, religious, and other viewpoints. Until 1947, the various Hungarian Governments regarded regaining the territories as their basic policy. They did this successfully because, making use of the change in the international balance of power, they almost doubled Hungary's size between 1938 and 1941. "Proletarian internationalism" was in force between 1949 and 1990, which actually meant giving up the interests of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. Since 1990, the Hungarian governments have been focusing on providing financial and legal support to the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. This means that certain organizations of Hungarians in Transylvania receive financial aid, and the government is trying to protect the interests of these people in international forums and in Bucharest. This is an honorable activity, and not without any result either.

If the Hungarian Government does not raise the border issue and if the Hungarians accept the Trianon peace treaty and the Paris peace treaty of 1947, it will indeed be sufficient to act for the minority rights of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania. In that case, it is sufficient to sign a basic treaty of a relatively good content; it is sufficient to see the creation of a Hungarian University and Consulate in Kolozsvar [Cluj] and the opening of Hungarian elementary and high schools all over Transylvania. In that case, it is sufficient for the Hungarian Government to engage in a policy of venting grievances: If the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania suffer some atrocity, the government will then complain in Bucharest. In this case, we can also accept the autonomy idea: We do not intend to modify the borders, but we want to see as many rights as possible for the ethnic Hungarians living within Romania's current borders. In this case, the conflict between Romania and Hungary is not antagonistic. In this case, historic rapprochement is imaginable in principle, if both sides wisely compromise on their preconditions. The borders remain the same and the situation of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania improves by the day in principle.

The way I see it, however, the situation prevailing in Romania between 1918 and 1995 does not justify the aforementioned line of thought. Ever since Transylvania "was given to Romanian hands" as Aron Tamasi said, the Hungarians of Transylvania, Partium, Maramaros and the surrounding areas, and the occupied Tiszantul area have been under constant harassment, for merely being Hungarians, to this very day. Over the past 77 years, these people have struggled constantly to protect their mother tongue, to have their Hungarian schools, and to preserve their identity. In this struggle, it was hard for them to defend themselves against the whole range of means at the disposal of the state power, and the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania have made great sacrifices in these decades. One should remember the educational laws of the twenties, seventies, and eighties, the state of emergency prevailing between 1918 and 1928, and 1933 to 1945, as well as the chauvinistic communist dictatorship between 1948 and 1989, the concentrated harassment of Hungarian churches, and the hundreds of thousands of expelled people. The top of things, the destruction of villages, was aimed at completely eliminating the ethnic Hungarian communities (and other minorities). In the post-1989 democracy, there are some opportunities for the ethnic Hungarians, but the latest developments show that the trend of the Greater-Romanian national minority policy has returned. The attacks against the

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Hungarian langauge and the rigid rejection of autonomy show that the Romanian governments of the nineties have not learned from the past and that their goal is to create a homogeneous Romania of uniform Romanian nationals. This is so even if people in an increasing number of places in Romania are aware that this is a multinational country and that there are serious shortcomings in the assertion of human and minority rights of non-Romanians in this country.

Of course, there is no sense in accusations. However, we are not far from the truth when we say that none of the Trianon countries has managed the areas received in 1920 well, including Romania. Given the constant questioning and limitation of the rights of ethnic Hungarians, we must say that, as long as this situation prevails, there can be no agreement and rapprochement between the two nations and the two countries; because one can no longer tolerate the situation in which the Romanian Government policy is threatening the elementary living conditions of the more than 2 million ethnic Hungarians living there and because this process has been in existence since the first Romanian occupying soldier set his foot on Hungarian territory in the Eastern Carpathians.

The 77 years that have passed since 1918 are forcing the Hungarians to reevaluate Romanian-Hungarian relations. The Romanian domestic policy aimed at eliminating the ethnic Hungarians between the two world wars, at a time when the Hungarian governments focused on regaining the lost territories. But Romanian politics also aimed at making the Hungarians in eastern Hungary disappear when the goal of the Hungarian policy was rapprochement with Romania, rather than regaining lost territories. An increasing number of people claim, regarding the activity of Petru Groza between 1945 and 1947, that he only did favors for the ethnic Hungarians to make sure that the Paris Peace Treaty gave Northern Transylvania to Romania.

If we add to all this, that the collapse of the "Trianon peace achievement" began with the dismembering of the former Yugoslavia and the separation of the former CSFR, we can conclude that, almost irrespective of our intentions, history has raised the border issue. The policy of recent Hungarian governments aimed at signing basic treaties is trying to halt these long-term and inevitable historic processes. Obviously without success. In my view, at the very moment of its inception, the Trianon decision carried the harassment of national minorities, the vast human suffering, and finally its own collapse.

According to many people, the Hungarian governments will act correctly if they help to dismember the Trianon system. In Romanian-Hungarian relations, this means the modification of borders in Transylvania. There are no signs whatsoever of any radical changes in Romania's 77-years-old national minority policy. Therefore, Hungary should also bring up the issue of an honest division of Transylvania because of the threats against the existence of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania (and Moldova). Naturally, in a peaceful way, under international supervision. If there is any Romanian-Hungarian historic reconciliation, it can only be envisaged along these lines.

Minister Views MSZP's Post-Congress Unity

AU0812102395 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Dec 95 p 9

[Interview with Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman by Frigyes Varju; place and date not given: "The Political Tendencies Are Able To Work Together—Suchman on the Prime Minister's Room for Maneuver, Party Unity, and Reassessment of Stabilization"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to Tamas Suchman, minister without portfolio in charge of privatization, it is unavoidable that sections of the stabilization program need to be reexamined. Suchman, who is said to be an influential politician, believes that the Miskolc conference [organized by the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP] legitimized the prime minister, therefore, there is no need for personnel change at the head of the party. [passage omitted]

[Varju] The Miskolc delegates rather sharply criticized certain sections of the stabilization program, while Lajos Bokros's [Finance Minister] presence and speech generated much sympathy toward the minister. The emerging light atmosphere brought much moral and political capital for the tactical politician. As the privatization processes were also criticized, it would have been desirable for the minister directing privatization also to use the opportunity to speak.

[Suchman] Seeing a struggling man always attracts sympathy, even if people do not fully identify with his intentions. Bokros is now in such a situation. Everyone knows that he is having a terrible struggle to balance the budget and successfully stabilize the economy. At the same time, I do not hide my view that in certain issues of content—and here I agree with Sandor Nagy [former chairman of National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions]—I do have objections because the party and the government will very quickly have to adjust the solutions, and this was not emphasized at the congress. Personally, I am happy about Bokros's success, but I am not glad that the congress formed a positive opinion on the whole program, without exception. [passage omitted]

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[Varju] Representatives of the party's political trends arrived in Miskolc after having a bit overemphasized their role. Nevertheless, the power conditions appeared to be balanced. To what extent can the MSZP be called more unified now than before the Miskolc congress?

[Suchman] It is more united than before, although, as for the prior performance of the platforms, this is perfectly appropriate before a congress. I do not deny that some people aimed at weakening the situation of the party chairman and the leadership. Although I do not wish to limit their efforts, if I had spoken at the congress, I would have told them: Fighting within the party can only be a private affair if it does not have harmful effects on the country. We now happen to be the governing party, therefore, our responsibility for the electors is more important than anything else.

[Varju] Could it be in the background of the balancing of the forces and the subdued debate at the congress that the MSZP tried to sweep the problems under the carpet and the delicate steps are left for March?

[Suchman] I do not share this view. Everyone who wanted to was able to express his views in Miskolc and I do not think that only praise could be heard. As a matter of fact, by giving support to the government program, the congress confirmed and legitimized the governing and the government head himself.

[Varju] It would be demagogic now for me to say that the whole party won in Miskolc. In your view, who is now winning the political battle: Gyula Horn, the platforms, or certain people in the party leadership?

[Suchman] The whole country won by the governing party having been able to show unity. The persons and the platforms did not win, the battles became equal, and it became clear that the political tendencies are able to work together in the most important issues, they are linking forces. The membership would be much more atomized if no platforms existed in the party. With the atoms forming two to three molecules, and the molecules forming an element, rather than weakening, this strengthens the solidity of the whole system, namely the party.

[Varju] You often travel in the provinces so you may be aware whether the congress took a stance in accordance with the views of ordinary party members on the important issues.

[Suchman] Everyone is now dissatisfied, which is natural, and the reason is not that the promises have not been fulfilled. First of all, a large number of the promises attributed to us were never made and, secondly, although others have been made and we are doing everything possible to achieve them, the results are not apparent. However, to achieve them, we have to implement the stabilization steps which were included in the 12 March program. Many people are getting injured on this road, people who are innocent in this struggle. I have to confirm that neither our feelings nor our opinions have changed, and a large number of people understand that our actions are at the limits of our possibilities and what we do does not depend on our intentions. Society does not want any unfulfilled promises but the economically well-founded statements are still credible and these are needed. I believe that the economy can be placed on a growth course with a good foundation—partly through creating balance in the budget and partly through privatizations. By the end of the next half year, we will have received very significant income, therefore, we must think about what to do with the privatization income in addition to the treasury payments laid down in the budget. I am convinced that if we only spend this money on debt servicing, society will justifiably reproach us. We must evade all avoidable conflicts to prevent turning the social strata against us. We still owe the reform steps, their professional preparation has been incomplete, and this has to be changed as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Trade Balance Improves, Economic Growth Slows

AU0712161395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Dec 95 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Improving Foreign Trade Balance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The country's foreign and domestic economic and financial balance has been improving increasingly in recent months. Economic growth is more moderate than last year and getting slower, inflation is high although its increase has been broken, investment activities are slackening, and the population's real income is considerably lower than last year and is still decreasing. Therefore, the improved balance is primarily the result of restricted domestic demand, rather than of an expanded performance of the national economy. A continuation of these tendencies can be expected in the rest of the year.

The amount of export was 6 percent more and the amount of import 3 percent less in the first 10 months of the year than in the same period last year. The monthly trade balance has continuously improved: The deficit in March was still $534 million, but in the four months from July to October a small import surplus was achieved. As opposed to the 720 million [currency not given] deficit in March, the current account showed an 18 million surplus in September. Although the results of the coming months will probably not be as good as

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this, it can be taken as certain that the annual deficit of the trade balance will remain below $3 billion and the current account deficit will be even less than this. Last year, the deficit of both balances was $3.9 billion. The country's foreign currency reserves are at a record high and amounted to $8.8 billion in September. In spite of the protraction of talks with the IMF, international assessments of the country's ability to pay seem to be improving after the temporary deterioration at the beginning of the year.

It would have been desirable for the economic policy only to restrict consumption in the interest of balance and to encourage the investment activities which serve further development. The former was achieved, which can be seen from the 11.5 percent reduction of the real value of earnings, and the 7 percent reduction of retail trade. After the promising growth at the beginning of the year, investments started to decrease and, as an annual average, they will be at around last year's level at best.

In the production sphere, processing industry's and agriculture's export sections and the business services are increasing their output while the performance of construction industry, agriculture as a whole, trade, and public services is decreasing. The number of the employed and the number of the registered unemployed will slightly decrease during the year.

Inflation reached its peak at the beginning of the summer, then it started to decrease, and in September and October it again rose above 2 percent per month. All in all, we do not consider it justified to modify our earlier prognosis of around 28 percent.

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Izetbegovic, Holbrooke Hold Talks in Sarajevo

'Foreign Troops' To Depart

AU0812150195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GTM 8 Dec 95

[Excerpt of statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, following talks with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke in Sarajevo on 8 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] We agreed that the [Dayton] agreement provides sufficient provisions, which, if consistently implemented will secure human rights and the return of refugees and property. That is why there is no need for any additional annexes; moreover, there will be no changes to the Dayton Agreement.

The point is that all provisions of the Dayton Agreement need to be implemented consistently. We also discussed foreign troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I gave Mr. Holbrooke guarantees that they would leave Bosnia-Herzegovina pursuant to the Dayton Agreement within 30 days at the latest, perhaps earlier.

Furthermore, we discussed the implementation of that part of the Dayton Agreement that pertains to the Federation, and who will [words indistinct]. I told Mr. Holbrooke that the issue would be resolved at the [words indistinct]. This would be more or less all we discussed.

'Mujahidin' Volunteers To Leave

AU0812141695 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (AFP) — Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has pledged that all the "Mujahidin" volunteers fighting on the Moslem side will leave the country within 30 days of the signing of the Dayton accord, U.S. official Richard Holbrooke said Friday.

"President Izetbegovic has assured us that all foreign elements that are within the control of the (Moslem-Croat) federation will be removed within 30 days or less as required by annexe 1-A of the Dayton agreements," Holbrooke told reporters.

To 'Comply Fully' With Accord

AU0812143995 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 8 (AFP) — U.S. peace mediator Richard Holbrooke said he received assurances Friday from Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic that his government would "comply fully" with the Dayton peace accord.

"President Izetbegovic has just assured us and asked us to convey to (U.S.) President (Bill) Clinton that his government intends to comply fully with every aspect of the Dayton agreement and all 11 annexes," Holbrooke said.

Sacirbegovic Comments on U.S. Role in Elections

AU0712213895 Paris AFP in English 1903 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Dec 7 (AFP) — Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic said Thursday [7 December] he believed the pan-European security body, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], was up to the task of organising elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina but only if the United States took a leading role.

Speaking at a press conference on the sidelines of a two-day meeting here of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Sacirbegovic said Washington should spearhead efforts to set up the poll provided for under a peace agreement on Bosnia reached last month.

"The U.S. should be taking a very firm role in the election process," Sacirbegovic said, nonetheless stressing that the OSCE's efforts in bringing the ballot-box to Bosnia "will work inasmuch they're given resources by their members."

Under a peace accord for Bosnia initialled in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, the OSCE is required to play a major role in supervising preparations for elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The vote is set to take place between six and nine months after the definitive signing of the peace deal in Paris on December 14.

Sacirbegovic also said his statement on the need for U.S. leadership amounted to a vote of confidence in Robert Frowick, the retired U.S. career diplomat due to head up the OSCE's peace mission in Bosnia.

"You can interpret my statement for what it is," Sacirbegovic said when asked if he supported Frowick's nomination to the post.

EU's Bildt on Tasks Facing London Conference

MS0812091495 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 8 Dec 95 p 14

[Article by Carl Bildt, European Union peace mediator in the former Yugoslavia: "Military Force Is Not Enough"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The history of international efforts to deal with the conflict in Bosnia can be viewed

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EU's Bildt on Tasks Facing London Conference

MS0812091495 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 8 Dec 95 p 14

[Article by Carl Bildt, European Union peace mediator in the former Yugoslavia: "Military Force Is Not Enough"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The history of international efforts to deal with the conflict in Bosnia can be viewed

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as the history of the various conferences assembled in London to mobilise support for important actions.

The first such conference, in August 1992, gave the go ahead for humanitarian measures that saved the lives of tens of thousands of Bosnians and ensured the survival of the Bosnian state. It also saw the launch by the United Nations and the European Union of a joint effort to find a comprehensive negotiated settlement.

The conference in July this year took the decision to use air power on a more extensive scale than previously. It was after this conference that European leaders urged President Bill Clinton to commit himself to a credible political strategy for settling the conflict.

The most important task facing the latest London conference, beginning today, will be to implement the Elysee treaty that emerged from last month's negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, between Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian leaders. It will be judged by whether it results in more than just a military partition of the country, or a mere pause before a resumption of the conflict.

Since Dayton, much attention has been focused on the military aspects of that agreement, under which 90,000 troops from Nato members and other countries stationed in the region will act as a buffer between the two so-called "entities" in Bosnia.

Separating the Serb republic from the Moslem-Croat federation will be important and difficult. But it is likely to be much less difficult than attempts to implement the political and civilian aspects of the deal, which are the real keys to securing peace.

Even if the military side of the deal succeeds, Nato forces will leave the country effectively partitioned if the political and civilian side fails.

In all probability, that would be no more than a pause before another round in what has been a protracted war. Implementation of the military side is the key to stopping the war, but implementation of the political and civilian aspects is the key to creating conditions for a genuine peace.

The experience with the federation formed between Bosnia's Moslems and Croats in 1994 is a sobering one. Agreements have been signed without being implemented. It is only in the last few days, for example, that the divisions between the two sides that have split the city of Mostar have shown signs of easing.

There are still too many on both sides who give the impression of seeing peace simply as a continuation of war by other means — and find it difficult to accept the reconciliation needed if Bosnia is to survive. Without an active reconciliation effort from both sides, there will never be more than an absence of war in Bosnia.

What happens in and around Sarajevo will be crucial. There are probably around 100,000 Serbs in parts of Sarajevo that will be transferred to the Moslem-Croat federation.

If they fear that they will be discriminated against, or threatened in any way, by the Bosnian government, many are likely to flee the city.

A large-scale movement of refugees out of Sarajevo would be a serious blow for the Bosnian government, marking a failure to build confidence in its vision of a multi-ethnic and multicultural Bosnia. The vision behind the Dayton accord is the vision of a united Sarajevo; it is not the vision of a city abandoned by one of the nations of Bosnia.

It is extremely difficult to be statesmanlike in the immediate aftermath of a brutal war. But statesmanship from the Bosnian leadership is now needed if the peace process is not to fail.

The international community can and will help with confidence-building and other measures. But it is the process of political and human confidence-building between Serbs, Moslems and Croats in Sarajevo that will be decisive.

The situation in Sarajevo is just one of a number of difficult challenges that lie ahead. The gradual return home or settlement of millions of refugees and displaced persons will be very difficult to achieve. It will be far from easy to hold free elections within six to nine months, to create the conditions for establishing new political institutions.

The safeguarding of human rights and the restoration of the rule of law will also be demanding tasks, given the necessity that war criminals be brought to justice. And the reconciliation needed to make the complicated constitutional arrangements agreed at Dayton work will be gradual and prolonged.

Many lessons will have to be learnt before the Bosnian crisis recedes into history. The transatlantic relationship — as well as the way in which the EU operates its foreign and security policy — is already under debate as a result.

But we must also re-learn the lesson that there are no purely military solutions to problems that are essentially political. Military means are often necessary but insufficient. The world's political leaders had better understand that before it is — once again too late.

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London Envoy Interviewed on Peace Agreement

MS0812110295 London BBC Television Network in English 0700 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Interview with Bosnian Ambassador to London, Professor Filipovic, by presenter Nicholas Witchell; from the "Breakfast News" broadcast — live; all replies as heard]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Witchell] Everybody of course wants to get the situation there back to normal, but after 4 years of fighting and devastation what is the priority?

[Filipovic] We believe the priority is full support to Ohio documents about the peace treaty and an immediate start of implementation of all those documents. Though it means that we must have a military structure to assure this peace and also to civilian structure, to start with the immediate recovery of the country, getting back refugees and normalizing of the life.

[Witchell] Now to achieve that there must be trust between all sides. Is that trust there?

[Filipovic] We believe that without starting implement of implementation date couldn't be just about the trust. We can see are all sides serious when we start with implementation. If means how they are going to be cooperative.

[Witchell] Now in practical terms on the ground with all this devastation, what are the priorities, is it moving people back to their homes, is it repairing the homes.

[Filipovic] It is first of all establishing the system of communication. You know we must have infrastructure in order to let people possibility to get back, and also renewing the homes and opening the jobs for the people because how you can imagine the people live without possibility to work, to support themselves. You know we see linkage with all these aspects. First of all stabilization of the situation, promoting mutual confidence and also reconstruction of the country and improvement of humanitarian aspects of the situation.

[Witchell] So from the outside, from NATO, from Europe, from Britain what sort of help do you want?

[Filipovic] We want just all sides to fulfill their obligations from the Ohio documents. It means to deploy the troops, to make financial contributions for the fulfillment of all plans for re-establishing of situation and also to get into the close cooperation with the government of the Bosnia Herzegovina, because we believe that Dayton documents install what concerns the foreign policy it's a up to the Bosnian government and we believe that all should be through that government.

Chirac Assures Izetbegovic on United Sarajevo

AU0712203595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has today received a letter from French President Jacques Chirac, in which the latter stresses that France is committed to the strict implementation of the Dayton agreement, particularly when it comes to Sarajevo. There is no question of renewed negotiations or bringing the agreement to be signed in Paris into question, but of creating the practical conditions to ensure the complete implementation of what was agreed, says the letter from the French president to President Izetbegovic.

President Chirac stresses that he wants to remove any ambiguity from France's position. As you know, my country has spared no efforts, particularly during the negotiations at Dayton, to reaffirm the identity of a unified, multicultural, and democratic Bosnia- Herzegovina. In the same spirit, France plans to continue to work on the complete implementation of the agreement initialed in Dayton.

The future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as we see it, will first be demonstrated in Sarajevo. France has, through the brave actions of its soldiers, contributed more than any other country toward the lifting of the siege of the capital city, and toward the gradual restoration of the basic public services, such as transport, water, natural gas, and electricity supplies. France was the first country to demand the unification of the city and it believes that this is one of the basic achievements of Dayton. Today it has to be strengthened in Sarajevo, of course under the sovereignty of the Bosnian Government, through support, for example, for the establishment of mechanisms of dialogue and consultations, which will encourage the necessary process of reconciliation.

In this spirit, the French forces present in Sarajevo will continue their activities in the coming months, in close cooperation with Bosnian officials, of course. Very clear instructions to this end have been reiterated to our forces, whose prominent activities in the service of peace can never be praised enough, says the letter from French President Chirac to President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

Muratovic Briefs Sarajevo Authorities on IFOR

AU0712170795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on talks between Hasan Muratovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Minister in charge of relations with the UN Protection Force, and the Sarajevo

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Executive Council in Sarajevo on 7 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Huseinovic] Hasan Muratovic, minister in the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today presented the members of the Sarajevo Executive Council with a number of details concerning the replacement of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] with IFOR [Implementation Force] in the Sarajevo region.

Minister Muratovic gave certain suggestions and directions that would contribute on the organizational level to a more effective solution to problems in this sphere. Speaking about what would happen during the replacement of UNPROFOR with IFOR, Minister Muratovic stressed:

[Muratovic] First of all, UNPROFOR will be here until 31 January. There is a period [words indistinct], and that resolution will be passed immediately after the signing of the agreement in Paris [words indistinct]. Many resolutions connected to UNPROFOR will thus be transformed to suit IFOR duties or they will be completely repealed, meaning that they will be null and void. Some resolutions are of extreme importance for us, for the city. Look at the example of the airport. The airport was handed over to the United Nations by a resolution. When this resolution is repealed, we have the right to take the airport over.

[Huseinovic] What should the Sarajevo authorities particularly keep in mind? According to Minister Hasan Muratovic, immediate steps should be taken on providing accommodation and services, which is of particular economic importance for Sarajevo. For that reason a survey has to be carried out of the existing facilities and repair projects have to be drafted for all available facilities. Apart from IFOR, many other organizations will be arriving in the Bosnia- Herzegovina capital. Lack of adequate accommodation should not be the reason for them to be forced to look for accommodation elsewhere.

[Muratovic] The handover must be carried out of all the facilities now being used by UNPROFOR. They must hand the facilities back to us and then we will rent them out to IFOR. A period is coming now when other international organizations are very important to us. The EU, UNIDO, and various world agencies will very soon be establishing their presence in Sarajevo, agencies that will implement projects on the behalf of their governments, which will contribute to the financing of these projects, and so on. [passage omitted]

German Officers View IFOR Mission in Sarajevo

AU0712160295 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 7 (AFP) — Two German officers, the first to serve in Bosnia since Nazi forces in the former Yugoslavia were defeated by Tito's partisans, arrived in Sarajevo on Thursday.

Members of NATO's enabling force of 2,600 troops charged with preparing the arrival of the alliance's 60,000-strong Implementation Force (IFOR), the two men flew into the Bosnian capital's airport shortly before 1:00 p.m. (1200 GMT).

Conscious of the strong anti-German feelings among Bosnian Serbs who still harbour bitter memories of the region's Nazi occupation, the pair stated their desire to be seen first as NATO officers and secondarily as Germans.

"It is not the Germans that have come to the former Yugoslavia, it is an international force. I am confident that where I meet Serbs I will be able to pass on this message," Colonel Georg Keerl told AFP.

The advance party of IFOR began deploying in Bosnia this week to prepare for the arrival of NATO troops after an overall peace settlement is due to be signed by Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia on December 14 in Paris.

During Bosnia's conflict the legacy of the Nazi German occupation has been played up by the Serbs, who have portrayed themselves as the principal victims of the Nazi troops and their proxy fascists in neighbouring Croatia, the Ustasha.

The Wehrmacht also pursued the communist partisan forces of Yugoslavia's then-ruler Tito with particular ferocity.

"We are well aware that this is a ground where the Germans in the Second World War did cause some problems and there are quite a lot of bad feelings," Keerl said. "But we feel that we are part of a multi-national force that came here," he added.

His colleague, Lieutenant Colonel Hermann Beckmann, said: "I know there is a risk and I have to bear that risk, but I am first of all a soldier and I must do everything to protect myself.

"What I really have to hope for is that people that don't like Germans here will learn and accept and tolerate that I am first of all an IFOR officer. I am from the Bundeswehr (German army) and these forces have nothing to do with or share any traditions with those organisations that have done so much harm to the people 50 years ago," he said.

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Some 4,000 German troops will be deployed in the former Yugoslavia, most of them in Croatia. Approval for the deployment was given Wednesday by an overwhelming majority in the Bundestag (lower house of parliament.)

Sarajevo Serbs Send Protest Letter To Milosevic

LD0712184295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (SRNA) — At today's protest meeting in Grbavica, on behalf of the citizens of Serb Sarajevo, Ljubisa Lazic [not further identified] read out a letter addressed to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. SRNA carries it in full:

"Do you remember the time when the people chanted your name — Slobo Slobodo? Do you remember it, our leader? We were these people who dedicated our lives to your idea — all the Serbs in a single state. You signed, renounced, and betrayed everything to do with St. Cyril, Christ and St. Sava [patron saint of Serbs].

With your right hand you destroyed our soul and strangled us. Leader, you have the power. Tell us how we can put out the candles and open up the graves. Our Sarajevo was not bought, it was born with us. Therefore, it cannot be sold, it cannot be abandoned to self-destruction or extinction. If we lose Sarajevo we are all lost. We do not believe this is you — leader — but some confused civilian. You are not the man whose picture we kept like an icon. We do not believe it, because when we grow to love something, we remember it. We are therefore imploring you — do not allow what is ours to become theirs. You can do it and you must do it.

Signed by citizens of Serb Sarajevo, 7 December, from here to eternity."

Multiethnic Convention Rejects 'Serb Sarajevo'

AU0712165595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] With Truth Against Manipulation was the title of today's convention of citizens, organized by the Association of Refugees and Displaced People, the Association of Political Sciences, and the School of Political Sciences, where the convention was held. The Dayton agreement was also discussed, as was the concept of Sarajevo within the framework of the peace solution on offer. Senada Cumurovic reports:

[Begin Cumurovic recording] Professor Hali Mulaibrahimovic, dean of the School of Political Sciences, said that this convention was needed so that the truth about Sarajevo be told, the truth about the unified and multiethnic Sarajevo, the city that belongs to those who defended it and those who feel it as their city.

On the behalf of the Association of Political Sciences, Dr. Cazim Sadikovic raised the problem of relations between ethnic isolation as an anachronistic way of solving national freedoms, on the one hand, and, on the other, the legal norms within a legal state as a universally accepted principle of democracy. According to him there are two reasons why he believes that the rights and freedoms within the framework of a legal state will be accepted by the international community as the principle of solving national freedoms. First, because Bosnia-Herzegovina has endured in preserving the rights and freedoms of all its citizens, and because the international community is aware that there can be no more giving in to the ethnic concept promoted by Pale and Belgrade.

The Dayton agreement, which envisages the return of refugees and displaced people, also includes a unified Sarajevo. Citizens from the Sarajevo districts of Grbavica, Ilidza, Vogosca, and other parts currently under the control of the Serb entity, spoke about their desire to return to their homes and resume their lives in coexistence with their neighbors, with the understanding, of course, that there can be no life alongside war criminals.

An interesting thing was that this convention was addressed by Radoslav Gutan, chairman of the Association of Serb Refugees from Pale, who spoke about the Dayton agreement as the test for the preservation of the sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina of its three nations, and a unified Sarajevo.

The messages that could be heard at this citizens' convention could be placed into three categories: First that the convention accepts the Dayton agreement, particularly the part that refers to Sarajevo; second, hope was expressed that the legal authorities would continue to persevere with their insistence on all the human and civil rights of the Serb nation as well as the others; and third, that the legal authorities would continue to insist that such a thing as a Serb Sarajevo simply does not exist. There is just one Sarajevo, which is a city of all the citizens living in it.

Sarajevo Serbs Demonstrate Against Accord

LD0712162095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (SRNA) — Over 20,000 Sarajevo citizens gathered today in front of the Serb Fighters Bridge in the [Serb] Sarajevo suburb of Grbavica to express their dissatisfaction with the Dayton documents, which envisage Serb Sarajevo forming part of the Croat-Muslim federation.

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In addition to citizens of Grbavica, this central rally is being attended by residents of Ilidza, Hadzici, Ilijas, Vogosca, Rajlovac, and Pale, and representatives of the war presidencies of these municipalities who, with their presence, want to voice their support for Serb Sarajevo remaining in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

The participants in the rally are carrying banners with the same messages to the international community: "Peace Yes — Slavery No;" "142,700 Serbs Will Die for Serb Sarajevo;" "We Originated Here — We Will Remain Here;" and others.

Shout Anti-U.S. Slogans

AU0712173595 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 7 (AFP) — Rebel Bosnian Serbs took to the streets in a Serb-held suburb of Sarajevo Thursday [7 December] to protest against the Dayton peace plan under which certain areas of the city will return to government control.

Up to 5,000 Serbs shouted anti-American slogans, tore up a stars and stripes and bellowed their protests against the U.S.-brokered plan secured last month, witnesses said.

Many arrived by bus in the suburb of Grbavica, a Serb-controlled southern part of the city, in what western reporters said was a well organised demonstration.

The Bosnian Serb news agency, SRNA, reported that 20,000 people came from several Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo to attend the rally.

The protest is the latest in a series over the proposals to return many Serb controlled suburbs to the mainly Moslem Bosnian government agreed at Dayton, Ohio by the presidents of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. Belgrade signed on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs.

SRNA said that a petition with 100,000 signatures will be presented at the Paris conference where the Dayton accord is due to be signed December 14.

Against the backdrop of a large poster erected Thursday morning by workmen showing a monster figure with the words "Was Dayton made by man?", the protesters gathered on a bridge linking Grbavica with government-held Sarajevo. Several had placards declaring "We want to live here" and "We were born here."

One 16-year-old girl, Vesna, who said she had come by bus with her teacher, said: "I would prefer to burn our house if the Moslems come to our place. We will refuse to let them come in our part of Sarajevo. This is our land."

Aid agencies have estimated that some 40,000 Serbs who chased their pre-war Moslem neighbours out of their homes in the early stages of the war could leave areas due to return to government control.

The head of the Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, who attended the Dayton talks, stated Wednesday that the application of the peace accord "will not be possible without an adequate solution for the Sarajevo Serbs."

Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, quoted by the official BH PRESS, said the international community had to make "as its first priority" efforts to solve the problem of people expelled from occupied parts of Sarajevo.

"Most of those people don't live in Grbavica any more. They are either dead or live somewhere abroad," he added.

Silajdzic Interviewed on Sarajevo Serb Protests

LD0712203995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The general feeling is that our media, more than our state officials, have paid more attention to the future of Sarajevo and the rejection by the Serbs who occupied a large part of the town of the Dayton agreement. This is probably because of the belief that the Dayton agreement will be implemented as agreed.

However, no matter how much the Serb rallies are comic and ineffective, they still require a somewhat sophisticated reply from our politicians. Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has made a special statement on this for Bosnia-Herzegovina TV:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Silajdzic, over the past few days we heard statements by high-ranking foreign officials that the Serbs ought to be protected in the area of Sarajevo, in the area which according to the Dayton agreement should belong to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What does that mean?

[Silajdzic] The fundamental principle that we have brought from Dayton is equality of all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By these statements, perhaps completely unintentionally, high-ranking officials are ushering the principle of inequality on the international scene. Why should only the Serbs be protected around Sarajevo? The Serbs ought to be protected — why only the Serbs? Why not the majority of the population, which used to be non-Serb in these municipalities? We know that in Ilijas Serbs constituted 45 percent, in Vogosca 37 percent, in Hadzici only 26 percent.

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What happened with all those who are not there — those who cannot protest or rally, because they are either dead, unfortunately, or have been evicted from their houses? If there is a priority, then they should be protected. We should primarily speak about those who are not in Vogosca, Ilijas, Hadzici, or Ilidza. They are either dead or have been evicted.

However, we are now talking about one country, about a single Bosnia-Herzegovina, equal rights. Let us speak about that. We know the result of such manipulations of the population, such popular rallies — it resulted in tragedy in this area. I think we should not repeat it.

[Correspondent] What arguments, what kind of guarantee can the Bosnia-Herzegovina government offer to those people on those territories that will be included in the federation?

[Silajdzic] We have to speak about guarantees throughout the entire area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, not just about guarantees; in recent days there has been talk about the guarantees that should be granted to the Serb population in the federation. Let me tell you, our history is our guarantee. Our credibility is our history, this history, the history of this conflict in which these authorities have demonstrated maximum tolerance even in the most difficult of moments.

It is easy to declare this or that. I can say here whatever I want to. However, let us take a look at what is going on on the ground. I visited Bosanska Krupa following its liberation. In a small area there had been a Catholic church, a mosque, and an orthodox church. When I visited Krupa the Catholic church and the mosque were destroyed. The orthodox church was intact. This is our credibility and this is not just the way things are around Sarajevo. This is the case everywhere. There are probably some exceptions that only confirm the rule.

Hence, Serbs in Sarajevo, Serbs in other free areas have enjoyed the same rights or a lack of, or they have not exercised their rights to the same degree as other citizens. This is it. Our history is our credibility, i.e. our history is our guarantee. Words are cheap, but what takes place on the ground should be taken into account. [end recording]

SDA Welcomes Human Rights Monitoring in Sarajevo

AU0712203095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] is ready to accept international monitoring in the form of a commission for human rights and similar organizations in parts of Sarajevo that are currently under Serb occupation. This is the party's view as presented at today's news conference by SDA Central Committee Chairman Timor Numic.

The Dayton agreement leaves enough room for the protection of human, civil, and political rights of all the citizens. If there is a feeling that a monitoring service of human rights would be of particular use, then there is no conflict of opinion there. All the mechanisms of protection in accordance with the Dayton agreement, and institutions that are involved in the protection of human rights will be welcomed and supported by our side, but we will demand equal status for all the people on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ismet Grbo [SDA spokesman] stressed.

Diplomat Criticizes Red Cross 'Naivete,' Bias

AU0512171295 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Geneva, Dec 5 (AFP) — Bosnia's ambassador to the United Nations was repeatedly interrupted Tuesday [5 December] while addressing a Red Cross conference in a speech highly critical of international relief organizations, he and several other sources said. [passage omitted]

In the introductory passage that he was able to read, Bijedic warned that the international reactions to recent cases of "genocide, destructions, urbicide, culturcide and ecocide" in countries such as Bosnia, Rwanda and Chechnya had been "timid, partial, hesitant, incomplete because of the lack of consistency and respect for existing principles and norms."

After an initial interruption he jumped forward in his address to ask: "How can one accept the fact that the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) and the UNHCR (High Commissioner for Refugees) knowing of the death (concentration) camps or numerous prisons and of tens of thousands of detainees in the hands of the aggressor, did not uncover them in good time?"

He was again interrupted while he was noting that some journalists had been "more humane and more courageous" than the international and humanitarian organisations in reporting the existence of the prison camps run by the rebel Serbs in several areas of Bosnia.

In passages that he was prevented from reading out Bijedic accused the Red Cross of "naivete," noting the delay in setting up an ICRC office in Sarajevo while being quick and effective in helping victims on the Serb side.

He hinted at "anti-Moslem sentiments" he believed to have existed among UN personnel, notably French UN

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peace-keepers, operating in Bosnia and cited a published "Diary of a Peacekeeper" which charged that the French troops had been encouraged to see the rebel Serbs as a regular army and the Bosnian forces as "tribal, inspired by fundamentalism."

In the text obtained by AFP, he charged that some humanitarian personnel had been "used for the aggressor's interests."

The meeting of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent organisation which is its Islamic counterpart, the first for nine years, opened on Sunday. More than 1,000 delegates, including officials from more than 100 countries, are attending.

Protests Interruptions to Speech

AU0512155695 Paris AFP in English
1519 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Dec 5 (AFP) — Bosnia's ambassador to the United Nations said he was repeatedly interrupted Tuesday [5 December] while addressing a Red Cross conference in a speech highly critical of international relief organizations.

Ambassador Mustafa Bijedic said he was only allowed to read several passages of the speech he wanted to deliver to a Red Cross commission on refugees and human rights.

Bijedic said the chairman of the commission felt the speech was too political.

The ambassador charged that the interruption by the panel chairman came "under pressure from the secretariat" of an international Red Cross conference taking place in Geneva.

ICRC Official Defends Interruptions

AU0512211695 Paris AFP in English
2044 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Geneva, Dec 5 (AFP) — Bosnia's ambassador to the United Nations was repeatedly interrupted Tuesday [5 December] while addressing a Red Cross conference in a speech highly critical of international relief organizations, he and several other sources said.

Ambassador Mustafa Bijedic said he was prevented from reading more than a few passages of the speech he wanted to deliver to a Red Cross commission on refugees and human rights.

Bijedic said the chairman of the commission, Hisashi Owada of Japan, felt the speech was too political and started reading out "stupid procedural rules."

The ambassador charged that the repeated interruptions from the panel chairman came "under pressure from the secretariat" of an international Red Cross conference taking place in Geneva.

The deputy head of the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross), Francois Bugnion, later justified Owada's interventions, arguing that the humanitarian organisation could not accept political speeches such as Bijedic's which described one of the parties to the conflict as "terrorist."

If the conference accepted one political speech, he said, it would have to accept others. [passage omitted]

Bugnion in particular defended the ICRC against an accusation that the Red Cross had agreed to allow women, children and elderly people detained by the Bosnian Serbs to be exchanged for Serb prisoners of war, an action which Bijedic had described as "naive."

"If the parties agree to exchange these people against those people and ask the ICRC to help with such an operation, and if the prisoners themselves wish to be released, or transferred, well, we're there to help carry out a solution whose terms have been decided by the parties themselves," he said.

"Criticism bothers me when it comes to the point when it could endanger people's lives," he added.

Following the session, Bijedic told reporters that if he had criticised the ICRC's mistakes, it was so that the mistakes would not be repeated.

UNHCR Says Refugee Repatriation 'Very Slow'

AU0112160495 Paris AFP in English
1531 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Dec 1 (AFP) — The return of refugees and displaced people to their homes in Bosnia under the terms of the Dayton accords is littered with obstacles and likely to be very slow, the UNHCR said here Friday.

The UN refugee agency gave its downbeat assessment after monitoring the implementation of confidence-building measures — chiefly the return of minority populations to four towns within the Moslem-Croat Federation — agreed in the Dayton accords.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata is due to examine the extent of the problem when she goes to the former Yugoslavia on Monday [4 December], taking in visits to Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade, the refugee agency said. Details of the trip have yet to be finalised.

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"HCR staff report that progress has been very, very slow," UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees) spokesman Ron Redmond said.

"The obstacles being encountered in carrying out this seemingly small-scale return within the Bosnian Federation may provide an indication of the very real problems we are going to face when the large-scale organised returns start in earnest," Redmond warned.

Redmond said only two Croat families had returned to the Moslem- held town of Bugojno "as of last week," though some others had returned on their own prior to the Dayton agreemtent.

"Several people interviewed in Bugojno cited security problems for minorities and said there was still harassment of minorities living there," the spokesman added.

The agency said only 12 Croat families had returned to Moslem- held Travnik, but said the authorities there appeared to be trying to implement the agreement, issuing returning families with documents recognising their legal return to their homes.

"In Travnik, it appears that the agreement may be under slow but sure implementation," Redmond said.

But in Jajce, a strategic central Bosnian town wrenched from the Serbs by the Bosnian Croats in the last months of the fighting, the path to peace was not running smoothly.

"We were told by Bosnian Croat authorites that they had identified 72 houses belonging to Moslems where the owners could go back at any time. But UNHCR staff found that 37 of th~ 72 families are living abroad," Redmond said.

"It is surprising that they selected so many people living abroad, when there are some 9,000 people displaced from Jajce who are currently registered as living in temporary accommodation in central Bosnia and who have indicated a willingness to go back," he added.

Redmond said Moslems had been blocked from entering Jajce until last week, when several on the list of 72 families were allowed to see their homes, but according to the local mayor decided not to stay because they were in a bad state.

Five Croat families had decided to stay, the mayor said, but the agency was unable to confirm this.

"UNHCR staff also report that the security situation in Jajce is inadequate for a return of Moslems," Redmond said.

He said there had been no Moslem returnees to the town of Stolac up to November 21, although 10 Moslems had visited the town to see the conditions there but none had stayed.

Under the confidence building measures agreed by the former warring parties, 200 Croat families were to return to Bugojno, and 200 Moslem families were due to go back to their former homes in Jajce. In addition, 100 Croat families were to return to Travnik and 100 Moslem families to Stolac.

Moslems and Croats fought against each other in Bosnia's civil war before eventually forming an uneasy alliance within the Moslem- Croat Federation and joining forces against the Bosnian Serbs.

Silajdzic, UNHCR Ogata View Return of Refugees

AU0412161195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 95

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on news conference by UNHCR Sadako Ogata and Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 4 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] Following her talks with President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic, Sadako Ogata gave a very brief and generalized statement:

[Ogata] I came here to visit the government since the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] [words indistinct] humanitarian operations. We should also start planning the organized return of refugees in cooperation with the government. The first step, which is why I came here, is to discuss the government's plans that we can implement.

[Cumurovic] Dr. Haris Silajdzic, who also addressed the reporters, stressed the importance of the return of refugees as an element in the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was at the top of the agenda in talks with Mrs. Ogata.

[Silajdzic] [Words indistinct] reintegration. The return of not only the displaced people within Bosnia-Herzegovina but [words indistinct]. This is certainly the priority of both the international community and our government. Mrs. Ogata presented her views, and we presented our views as to the priorities regarding the return of refugees. Our views do not coincide in certain areas, so [words indistinct] in detail. We have to move very fast, we have to work together with the international community, which will finance [word indistinct] and reconstruction of certain facilities [passage indistinct].

[Cumurovic] After her talks with President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic, UNHCR Sadako Ogata

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was to discuss these issues further with Muharem Cero, minister for refugees and social policy.

Croat Official Interviewed on Muslim War Crimes

AU0712122395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 95 p 5

[Interview with Marinko Skobic, president of the Committee of the Government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia for Investigating War Crimes, by Veso Vegar; place and date not given: "We Have 5,000 Documents on Muslim Crimes Against Croats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The aim of founding the Committee of the Government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia for Investigating War Crimes was to shed some light on the crimes committed against Croats in this war. Despite many objective difficulties, the committee managed to collect a considerable amount of material and testimonies and submit them to the International War Tribunal in The Hague. We talked to committee president Marinko Skobic about the crimes Muslims committed against Croats.

[Skobic] As a government committee we cooperate with the International War Tribunal, but only in connection with the cases in which Croats were victims. We have no information that would charge Croats with war crimes. When the International War Tribunal approached us asking for information, the position of the government was that maximum cooperation should be provided. However, there were unofficial combinations saying that we should agree with the Muslims not to bring charges against each other. I personally believed, as did the people who work with me, that it was out of the question, primarily because of the victims — who is it that can decide that those who are responsible should not be prosecuted? However, even if such an approach were to be accepted, it would be impossible to maintain, since we would be reckoning without the host. Even if we were to agree not to start anything, the International War Tribunal would operate in accordance with its statute. At one of the Presidential Council sessions it was thus decided that war crimes be investigated without compromise.

We are now in the stage of operative work. A group of International War Tribunal investigators and the head investigator are soon to visit us. The investigations are well under way, and the committee has done everything possible to deliver the initial material to the Tribunal. We have submitted about 5,000 documents concerning crimes committed against Croats in central Bosnia and part of Herzegovina. The documentation consists of testimonies acquired by the committee, testimonies acquired by the Ministry of Interior, and those acquired by other security services and other organizations. We collected the documentation, worked on it, and submitted it to the International War Tribunal. After it arrived at the office of prosecutor Richard Goldstone, certain people were assigned exclusively for investigating the crimes that Muslims committed against Croats.

Bijelo Polje

[Vegar] Is it difficult to get witnesses, and do they agree to testify before international investigators?

[Skobic] There are many witnesses to these crimes. However, as talk started about the return of refugees, many would not tell the whole truth. This is understandable; it is difficult to say that so and so did this or that if they are still living where the witness is to return to.

[Vegar] Are you in the position to suggest to the international investigators which crimes to investigate first?

[Skobic] We are not in the position to set priorities. We cannot tell them, for instance, not to deal with Jablanica, but to deal with the crimes in central Bosnia, in the village of Buhine Kuce, or some other place, instead. It is the Tribunal that makes such decisions. The Tribunal is an organization that has rules of its own, and it is quite slow. The last time they were here they would question a witness for as long as 15 hours. They look for as exhaustive information as possible. Our documentation is not taken for granted — it is also subject to investigation and examination. We are very happy with the cooperation we have had so far. If we were in the position to set priorities, we would say that the crimes in the Mostar area be investigated, such as the crimes committed in the detention centers in Bijelo Polje, the Social Accounting and Auditing Service building, the Fourth Elementary School, and so on. It was in these places that all the violations of the Geneva conventions took place — taking blood, using prisoners as live shields, tying people to explosives, murders, and so on. However, they are still refusing to deal with that.

[Vegar] Can we expect the first indictments soon?

[Skobic] We expect that, on the basis of the work we and the Tribunal experts have done so far, the first indictments will appear very soon. However, we cannot discuss either the dates or the persons. We can guess which persons they are going to be, but we cannot discuss that now. We can say that they will be Muslims, but it would be unprofessional to say now which people they are. Moreover, even if we were sure, it would be counterproductive to provide such information. We

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have had some cases of Muslims changing identity and forging their identity cards. Those flee abroad because they know what they are in for. This is why it is not wise to provide any names. It is also not good to discuss the places that are under investigation, since the International War Tribunal needs a lot of other material apart from testimonies, photographs of the sites, and other things, and if we were to discuss the places, this could be obstructed.

Dretelj

[Vegar] Do you have any details about the indictment against Darijo Kordic, Tihomir Blaskic, and the others from central Bosnia, that are not known to the public?

[Skobic] We have no official information; we have nothing that has to do with Croats, since that is not our job. For a while I supported the idea that we should summon the strength to work on investigating crimes possibly committed by Croats, too, to be able to control certain things and so things that did not happen cannot be blamed on us — so that it is not possible for someone to claim that there were 5,000 people in Dretelj if there were in fact 200. It was difficult to gain access to such information, and this is perhaps where the big mistake was made, which is that we do not have the information that will be used to charge Croats. I can thus say nothing concerning Kordic, Blaskic, and the others. It is clear from the indictment that they are not charged with executing anything, but with being responsible for what is extensively explained in Article 7 of the Statute of the International War Tribunal.

[Vegar] Have the prosecutors of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia issued any indictments against war crimes suspects?

[Skobic] The prosecutor's office is crowded with demands for indictments, but not much has been done in that respect. The other two sides have not done much either. The military court of the Croat Defense Council, which has become a civil court, has been trying to do something, and several times even reached the perpetrators of the crimes, but these persons have been exchanged.

[Vegar] Can you say if the crimes were planned or if they were merely tragic incidents?

[Skobic] They were systematic and organized crimes against Croats. I think that there is no need to provide any specific evidence for that. I will only state the example of the massacre in Grabovica, where 35 Croat civilians were killed whose average age was 69, but there was a two-year old child among them. You should know that there was no fighting in Grabovica, and there was no army there; the massacre was carried out by members of a special formation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army that was a direct subordinate of the Army's high command.

[Vegar] What can be done now?

[Skobic] The most we can do is be as cooperative with the International War Tribunal as possible. There is good will on the part of the Tribunal, and I believe that after the Tribunal's investigators visit here, the first indictments against the Muslims whose victims were Croats will be issued.

EU Mostar Administrator on Reconciliation Chances

AU0712170995 Berlin DIE WELT in German 7 Dec 95 p 6

[Report by Boris Kalnoky: "Reconciliation in Mostar Will Take Generations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar — The man has few illusions about the chances of success of his work. "It will take a generation until this city somewhat grows together again from the human point of view," says former Bremen Mayor Hans Koschnick, who has been trying to alleviate the worst hardship in the divided city and to bridge the gap between Muslims and Croats as head of the EU administration in Mostar for 18 years. "Those who have gone through all these horrors will never be able to forget. They will only suppress it, but not forget."

For the time being, one has to take care of the most necessary things. Water and electricity are working again almost everywhere in the heavily destroyed eastern part of the city. More than a dozen schools, as well as a few kindergartens, have been reorganized and are now again in operation. One can make phone calls again. Meanwhile, a footbridge and a car bridge enable all inhabitants, except men of recruitable age, to visit the other side.

"The real test will begin as of 20 January," Koschnick says. Then the men will also be allowed to cross the Neretva without any problem — that is, the Muslims to the Croat part and the Croats to the Muslim part. "What will happen if people who formerly shot at each other face each other — that will be difficult," Koschnick says. The biggest problem continues to be the establishment of a joint police force. So far, the Western European Union has undertaken part of this task with about 180 policemen (65 of whom are Germans). In addition, the Muslims and Croats maintain police forces of their own in their parts of the city. The Croats are blocking any real progress regarding a united police force. "Only with such a joint police force can the most

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important thing begin: full freedom of movement and return of the refugees."

Moreover, the Muslims are more prepared for cooperation than the Croats, who attacked the previously allied Muslims with concentrated strength on 11 May 1993 and demolished their part of the city. "The Croats want a purely Croat capital for the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna," Koschnick says. "However, the world community has explained to them that they will not get away with it." The treaty of Dayton binds Mostar to the joint state of Muslims and Croats, for which one is striving.

On 22 July the EU mission, which costs 400 million German marks, will come to an end. "In any case, joint elections will be held before. Then the democratically legitimized city council will probably elect the mayor," the EU administrator says. Then Hans Koschnick will return to Bremen. Mostar will not yet be a reconciled city by then. "There will continue to be a Croat and a Muslim part for an unforeseeable length of time. And one will continue to distinguish between this side and the other side."

UN Spokesman Accuses Croats of Razing Serb Towns

LD0712193495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 7 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG) — U.N. peace forces spokeswoman Susan Manuel said the Bosnian Croats and regular Croatian Army have destroyed almost half of the buildings in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo, western Bosnian Serb towns.

She told a press briefing in Belgrade Thursday that Bosnian Croat forces looted the two towns and were now laying mines in areas that are to be reverted to Bosnian Serbs.

The two towns in Republika Srpska (RS), the Bosnian Serb Republic, were occupied by joint Bosnian Croat and regular Croatian Army forces in an offensive in September and October and are to be returned to Bosnian Serbs under the Dayton Bosnia peace accord.

U.N. secretary general spokesman Ahmed Fawzi said Wednesday that Mrkonjic Grad was rased and that the situation was similar in Sipovo.

Manuel said that some houses south of the U.N.-protected Muslim area of Gorazde in southeastern Bosnia were also torched — in areas under Bosnian Serb control which will belong to the Muslims under the Dayton agreement.

Fires were also noted in Serb parts of Sarajevo, Manuel said.

Such behaviour of the parties in conflict is depressive and cynical and is completely detrimental to the spirit of the Dayton agreement, she said.

We are exerting pressure on all sides to control their forces, Manuel added recalling that the parties in conflict had undertaken in Dayton to do their utmost to establish confidence.

The U.N. is pressing the Bosnian (Muslim) government in Sarajevo to observe Serb rights in the town and prevent the Serbs' exodus, Manuel said and added that it was no time for panic but that attention shoud be centered on implementing the peace accord.

'Serb Republic' VP Koljevic Visits Belgrade

AU0812100295 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 95 p 9

[Report by E.P.R.: "Preparations for Disarmament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade — Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic, has been visiting Belgrade for several days. The day before yesterday, he met with the representatives of the Contact Group and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, as well as Patriarch Pavle.

At the meeting with the Contact Group representatives, which, as we have learned, lasted for several hours, Koljevic was told that there was not the slightest chance of changing Sarajevo's status in relation to the Dayton plan, but that all modalities of the protection of the civilian and ethnic rights of the Sarajevo Serbs could still be discussed.

As we have discovered, Koljevic nevertheless explained that the objective of the Sarajevo Serbs' referendum was only to prevent the exodus of the population from these territories.

The majority of the meeting passed in debate on the preparations for the forthcoming armament control conference in Bonn (scheduled for 18 December), and if the impressions of some of the participants in the talks are anything to go by, there is no significant chance that Koljevic could replace Radovan Karadzic at the head of the Serb Republic soon, as has been anticipated in certain journalistic circles in Belgrade.

The day before yesterday, Koljevic visited the Patriarchate, where he held talks with Patriarch Pavle as well as the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church Synod. The Synod denies Koljevic visited the Patriarchate on a political mission (to gain the blessing for a political

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move, for instance), which, nevertheless, sounds a little dubious, bearing in mind that the patriarch (among other things) signed the document on the joint negotiations of the delegations of the Serb Republic and FRY.

A member of the Synod, Dabro-Bosnian Metropolitan Nikolaj, claims that Koljevic's visit was to agree further humanitarian aid for the refugees in Bosnia with the church. When asked whether the patriarch would perhaps visit the Serb-controlled part of Sarajevo soon, about which there has been public speculation, Metropolitan Nikolaj replied that he was not aware of such a possibility.

The cabinet of Radovan Karadzic in Pale confirmed that Koljevic was on a business trip to Belgrade.

Bureaucracy Paralyzes Tuzla Traffic Light System

AU0712173095 Paris AFP in English
1059 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 7 (AFP) — After over three years of war, the traffic lights of Tuzla — the Bosnian industrial town that will be the base for thousands incoming U.S. GIs — have stopped working and just two people are to blame.

One is the man who was supposed to fix them.

The other is the bureaucrat who conscripted him into the army.

"There's nothing we can do," an official at ElectroTuzla, the local power company in charge of the city lighting system, bemoaned Wednesday [6 December].

"Some control boxes were pretty damaged by shrapnel and he's the only one in charge of repairing them," said the official, refusing to give the hapless engineer's name.

The problem of course is strange to see in a city where electricity is less of a problem than it is in other Bosnian cities such as Sarajevo.

And, worried by the lack of working traffic lights just weeks before the arrival of the 20,000 GIs due to deploy here, the authorities have tried to do something about it, the official said.

"We've asked the army to release him, but they refuse," the official said.

"Everyone has to do their military service," he shrugged.

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Commentary: Clinton 'Deeply Involved' in Balkans

AU0812094595 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 95 p 4

[Commentary by Nenad Ivankovic: "Camp Dayton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week's European tour by the U.S. President has confirmed the old political rule: Politicians and statesmen show their real faces only when they are in trouble. For three years, Bill Clinton showed so much vacillation and indecisiveness in foreign policy that many in the United States, but also internationally, asked themselves: Is the greatest world power sinking into dangerous isolationism, or even into provincialism? The Bosnian crisis became a sort of evil ghost following Clinton's policy, threatening to completely discredit him as a new Carter.

From the moment when the U.S. President understood that his chances in the presidential elections depend considerably on events in Bosnia, the waverer turned into a statesman whose firmness and determination are now impressing even his greatest opponents in the U.S. Congress itself.

True, with Camp David, Carter achieved a major success in foreign policy, but he easily lost the elections nevertheless. Clinton, however, has achieved much more with Camp Dayton than merely the settlement of a major crisis: He has restored the United States' image as the leading power, showing the entire world that without the United States, nothing good and positive is possible in this world. Camp Dayton is, in that sense, not only a symbol of this country's return to itself, but also of its triumph over Europe, which, on one hand, has shown and proven its competence in manufacturing and trading, but, on the other, has shown that it is not capable of dealing with crises in its own region. Since World War I, including the Cold War, this is the fourth U.S. intervention this century! And this is basically what makes Clinton's political change so great.

In the course of last week's visit to Europe, including the visit to the U.S. troops stationed at Baumholder, Clinton, without mincing his words, stressed precisely that fact, saying that if the United States decides not to send its troops to Bosnia, NATO will not do so, which means that peace will not be achieved.

On the other hand, this is certainly a triumph over Russia, which, although constantly showing that it still has its specific interests in the Balkans, is not in a position to play any role except but that of an extra, owing to its economic breakdown and socio-political chaos, which is shown by the fact that it is sending only 1,500 troops to Bosnia.

Whether Clinton will eventually be remembered as a great Democratic president who accomplished a series of foreign policy successes in the last year of his mandate will be shown by time and the developments in Bosnia. However, one thing is already definite: Clinton has gotten so deeply involved in the Balkans, and invested so much of his authority and prestige at Camp Dayton, that he can no longer afford any sort of yielding or watering down where the implementation of the entire peace project is concerned. Therefore, there is no doubt that the U.S. troops will go to Bosnia, with or without the blessing of Congress, and the latter is still more likely. Nothing can change this, neither Karadzic's and Mladic's threats, nor the attempt by Paris to arrange guarantees for the Serbs in Sarajevo. Not even the justified fear of the Pentagon that the Americans in Bosnia might become the target of several thousand mujahidin who are fighting on the side of the Bosnian Muslims against Christians. Likewise, nothing can be changed by the protests of the Croats in Bosnian Posavina, who naively believe that signatures may be withheld in Paris. Another message sent by Clinton's visit to Europe is that, in Paris, it is not possible to do anything but sign the agreement as it was formulated and initialed in Dayton.

Komsic 'Displeased' With Dayton Peace Accord

AU0712144795 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 5, 6 Dec 95

[Interview in two installments with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Member Ivo Komsic by Jelena Lovric; place and date not given]

[5 Dec pp 8-9: "How Tudjman Handed Over Posavina"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lovric] You are one of the two Croats who expressed discontent in Dayton with the agreement reached there. Why?

[Komsic] Our entire seven-member Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation was displeased with the territorial separation of two entities. Our stand about that is undivided. However, we have not equally evaluated the significance of that fact, that part of the agreement. [passage omitted]

Posavina — Center of All Clashing Interests

[Lovric] What has been gained with the Dayton agreement?

[Komsic] The territorial separation between the two entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina fails to satisfy all criteria. The solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is directly hampering, annulling them. Everything else is breaking up

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at that strategic point. Bosnian Posavina has become the center of all interests that clashed in Bosnia. It is in the focus of the interests of Serbia which is the aggressor against our country, it is in the focus of the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the focus of the interests of the federation, and, of course, the focus of the interests of the Republic of Croatia and Croatian interest in general. In fact, Bosnian Posavina is also the solution to that region — the key to Bosnia-Herzegovina's future.

[Lovric] What message does that key convey?

[Komsic] According to the Dayton solution, Posavina was dropped from the federation. This fact has a multiple significance. First, by amputating Bosnian Posavina from the federation, one revises the Washington and Vienna agreements, according to which the region is one of the cantons, in fact, one of the so-called Croat cantons within the federation. Apart from Posavina, the only other such purely Croat region, therefore a region with a majority Croat population, is western Herzegovina. The second negative consequence is that the federation has thus been considerably weakened. They who have given away Bosnian Posavina so easily, have attacked the federation. They have shaken it up, undermined its foundations.

[Lovric] In what sense have they shaken it up?

[Komsic] The federation cannot exist without the whole of the two peoples who decided in its favor. Those people who are constantly declaring the federation to be the entity of two peoples should particularly know that. Without Bosnian Posavina, the critical quota of Croats necessary for the formation of the federation will be decreasing, both in the quantitative and qualitative sense; we are, in fact, left without a canton in the federation, as well as without that section of the Croats who unreservedly support the federation. Therefore, we are reducing the federation to a very small number of Croats. [passage omitted]

Creation of Little Greater Serbia

[Lovric] What is the third consequence?

[Komsic] The third one is global — how handing Posavina over to the Serb entity would reflect on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If we analyze Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, it is then clear that Greater Serbia can be firmly installed in Bosnian Posavina. It is through that region that the idea of Greater Serbia can be constantly promoted with the Bosnian Serbs. That would not be possible without Posavina belonging to the Serbs. After the fall of the Knin parastate, one cannot create Greater Serbia in the region of Glamoc and Grahovo. That idea has been virtually defeated, and it can still be renovated only in these regions that border on Serbia or are very close to Serbia. However, with Bosnian Posavina, the idea is still very realistic and it can still be realized as it is no more the matter of a corridor heading for Banja Luka Krajina, but a very firm and homogeneous territory on which and through which the idea of Greater Serbia can be fully fortified.

[Lovric] Therefore, one may say that a little Greater Serbia is being created?

[Komsic] Yes, a little Greater Serbia is being created. The fourth negative consequence is that it is disastrous from the point of view of all-Croat strategic interests, not only that we are losing a significant and rich region that was populated by a Croat majority, but also because almost all along the Sava River Valley the Republic of Croatia is surrounded by territory that will always be turned toward Serbia. Bosnia-Herzegovina is also surrounded — from its eastern side along the Drina River — by regions that will be turned toward Serbia. This means that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain a territory of great tensions between strategic, global interests.

Muslims Are Completely Encircled

[Lovric] Following Dayton, Ambassador Zuzul said: Yes, Posavina is being lost, but a new canton is being gained along the Croatian border, in the region of Glamoc and Grahovo. Is Zagreb demonstrating intentions to settle Croats from Bosnian Posavina into that region?

[Komsic] This is that great danger that Bosnia may remain one state, but with its internal structure being set on the ethnic principles. Conditions are created for peoples to form groups which may represent a future basis of a new Bosnian instability. If that is the case — and I believe that this is the purpose of such borders — then the picture of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina is fully clear. We may draw political lines across which this instability will take place. Croats are being assigned the region of western Herzegovina, including a part of Popovo Polje, over Strbac and Capljina, all to the geographic border of Bosnia-Herzegovina toward western Bosnia. The Serbs have been given the region along the Drina river, that is, the entire Podrinje region, the territory along the Sava River, that is, Posavina. The Muslims have been allocated the central position. They remain completely encircled — the Serbs are on their east and north and the Croats on their south and west. The Croats are settling in the region that is bordering on Croatia along its entire length. The Serbs are trying to group themselves in the region that has the greatest part of its borders on Serbia. It is easy to see from such a composition where the hotbeds of future clashes and instability will be.

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[Lovric] And where is it going to be?

[Komsic] It is in Cazin Krajina, that is, Bihac Krajina, because that region remains unsolved. This Bosniak-Muslim enclave is encircled from all sides, and it is impossible for it to join the central part. In the future, this will represent a great strategic interest of both Croats and Serbs. [passage omitted]

A Shocking Solution

[Lovric] How did it come to the Dayton solution for Bosnian Posavina which has shocked many people? How could that happen at all, as this region has always, from the time of the Geneva negotiations and further on including the Contact Group plan, been within the federation?

[Komsic] What happened was that in Dayton, the mediators were always siding with two sides against the third one. Whenever two delegations agreed about something, the mediators sided with them. [passage omitted]

However, in the case of Bosnian Posavina, the Bosnian delegation had the agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman against itself. In Dayton, this was not at all concealed. At the first joint meeting between our delegation and the Yugoslav delegation, including the Pale Serbs, Milosevic said clearly in front of everybody: "There is no mention of Bosnian Posavina. I agreed with President Tudjman about that long ago." I stress the expression "long ago." He did not say so only once, he repeated it several times. We thought that was a bluff on his part, as the Contact Group plan had already established Posavina to be part of the Federation. However, when the Croatian side started exerting pressure on the Croat part of our delegation, it became clear that it is not Milosevic's bluff. The mediators offered a territorial division from which it was clear that they decided in favor of the agreement about which Milosevic spoke so openly. They were even very harsh, at that. To our persistent insistence that a debate about Bosnian Posavina should be opened at the Contact Group level, we were explicitly told: There will be no more debate on Posavina, it has not been presented, and do not ask that question any longer. [passage omitted]

[Lovric] What is your comment on [Jadranko] Prlic's signature?

[Komsic] Prlic's signature has no strength. As a government minister, Prlic has no legitimacy to sign documents that, according to the Constitution of the federation, can be initialed only by the president of the Federation. [passage omitted]

Everything Could Be Different

[Lovric] How would you comment on another assertion that could be heard lately and that is that the Americans are in fact to blame for the loss of Posavina and that the Croats could not change anything because the Americans insisted on that?

[Komsic] The Americans were on the side of the agreement between Tudjman and Milosevic. This as what has won. If the Croatian delegation supported our Bosnian delegation in that respect, everything could be different. I know that we could have got Posavina without many difficulties. Milosevic needed this agreement, and he was at the end of his tether. [passage omitted]

[Lovric] How do you see the future of the Posavina people? What will happen with them? They have been offered the chance to go to Croatia; Krajina is empty; they are offered a move to Glamoc and Grahovo, which they refuse and speak about moving collectively to some other country; also mentioned has been a collective return to Posavina, willy-nilly.

[Komsic] It is hard to tell how things will develop further. I do not believe that anything will change before the Paris conference. [passage omitted]

[Lovric] When you view the map agreed upon in Dayton, how do you see the future of Bosnia?

[Komsic] This map is most similar to the one that was announced in GLOBUS about three months ago and had been issued by the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia. It is hard and ungratifying to tell what will happen. Nothing has ever happened in Bosnia the way potentates imagined. I think that they will not be able to retailor Bosnia now either. [passage omitted]

[6 Dec pp 6-7: "Dayton Peace — Respite Until the Next War or Reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lovric] Do you expect that there could be a division into the Croatian and the Muslim part within the federation?

[Komsic] No. The agreement reached in Dayton says quite specifically that this involves a federation of cantons. A procedure for a quick constitution of the municipal and the cantonal authorities has been determined; the federal government is taking over throughout the Federation's territory, whereby all other administrative arrangements that have emerged during the war — the arrangements of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina — reflected in districts and war presidencies, will cease to exist.

[Lovric] There is no longer any talk of the confederation?

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[Komsic] Confederation is no longer discussed; however, in Dayton we agreed on the formation of a Council for Mutual Cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that this is a good agreement that does not need to be treacherous at all, an arrangement that should facilitate what is called a close cooperation of two countries, however, with respect for the integrity of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which contains two entities. Naturally now, at the beginning, Croatia wishes to cooperate with the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state unity, but this can by no means exclude the other entity, as this is the council for cooperation between two countries, and our country is now constituted so that it entails two entities.

The question is to what degree these entities will be compatible, how proportionate they will be. Our opinion is that the Serb Republic, until it gets rid of the Pale regime, will lag behind in many issues, ranging from observation of human rights to economic development. Naturally, we must not forget that the Dayton agreement contains a provision on parallel special links. This means that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the Serbian entity, can insist on a similar cooperation council with Serbia. I hope that this will not lead to the creation of a community or the elements of a sort of a joint state on these territories, to the reconstruction of some kind of Yugoslavia, because we have learned over the past 70 years that we really should avoid this solution. [passage omitted]

[Lovric] What will the Dayton agreement mean for the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Judging by the reactions of the Posavina Croats, would one say that they are waking up to reality? Is a different sort of discontent present in Herzegovina?

[Komsic] It is very difficult to envisage all this. The actual situation is as follows: The Posavina people were expelled from Posavina, and this agreement is obstructing their return. The Bosnian Croats are scattered in several disjointed enclaves and the only homogeneous Croatian part of the territory is western Herzegovina, which is the smallest and the most impoverished Croatian region. Our political future is linked to the Federation, we have a future in the Federation, without the Federation we have nothing. If we were to start undermining the Federation — then this would mean a total disaster for the Posavina and Bosnian Croats. For that reason I believe that we must insist on the political idea of cantonization of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, because such a solution, despite our being dispersed, offers us a chance for a political, an economic, and a cultural survival. It would be difficult to survive without it. The Dayton agreement leaves all options open. Unfortunately, the one that leads to the definitive ethnic grouping of the population has the best foundations. [passage omitted]

[Lovric] There are supposed to be elections in Bosnia next year? How do you see them?

[Komsic] I think that the deadline set in Dayton is a little unrealistic. They said: Half a year, with the provision that it can be extended for another two, three months. The fact is that the Americans and the European countries are attaching great hopes to these elections. We do not know whether they are preparing something that they did not tell us — because their surprisingly great hopes are simply to big. True enough, the agreement envisages the deployment of substantial troops in Bosnia. Apart from the military and the police forces there will also be political forces, the forces for the supervision of human rights, and political and national liberties. We shall see whether all those who arrive in Bosnia will be able to change our internal situation so quickly and facilitate the elections that they all expect. I am not optimistic, at least not for this first time around. Only the second elections can, perhaps, bring the expected turnabout.

Devastating Milosevic's Definition

[Lovric] How many Croats will remain in Bosnia after this agreement?

[Komsic] The problem is how many have remained so far, because the Dayton map has been worked upon for a long time, this map has been effective in Bosnia-Herzegovina for a long time and the results are devastating. From the perspective of Dayton, all this is already evident. Milosevic defined this in Dayton, and nobody present disputed him. He said: "We have long agreed on it with Tudjman."

[Lovric] Therefore, Dayton merely explained to us what to do?

[Komsic] In retrospect, Dayton explained some of the events in this war. It is crystal clear from the Dayton perspective what actually happened.

[Lovric] What is clear?

[Komsic] For example, it is clear now what happened in Bosnian Posavina in 1992, how the Croatian forces withdrew. So far all this only boiled down to the stories by eyewitnesses, the people who fought to defend their homes there. It was already unclear at the time how Posavina could have fallen when in the meantime Derventa had been liberated, they had advanced toward Doboj, and Modrica was still free.... All this time they have wondered how this could have happened, they

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suspected that some sort of a trade-off was involved. Now, this has been confirmed.

It has also become evident now how the clashes occurred and what the aim of the clashes in central Bosnia was, why the evacuation of the population from the central Bosnian enclaves to Herzegovina, why the refugees were settled there, why they were pulled out from some places without a struggle under only some veiled threat that clashes might occur.... I must say with bitterness that this is clearly a conspiracy against the Croats of Bosnian Posavina, but also against central Bosnia, and that the fate of those Bosnian Croats who managed to survive in this difficult war despite much struggle and sacrifices remains uncertain.

They fought fiercely to stay in their homes in Kiseljak, Kresevo, Busovaca, Vitez, Novi Travnik.... However, what is the attitude toward the relentless struggle of these people who were — as is evident now — sacrificed? Not only does nobody give them any recognition for it, but it appears from the post-Dayton perspective that they are a nuisance, that some would be the happiest if they had not existed at all — then it would be a lot easier to carry out everything that is drawn on the Dayton map. It is clear now that these enclaves were supposed to fall or be vacated. [passage omitted]

This is also seen from the attitude toward the war criminals. I have no intention of defending anyone in any way, however, just a glance at the list of those whom The Hague court indicted — these are all the Croats from central Bosnia. Not a single Croat from some other region has been indicted for the crimes committed so far. However, the war was imposed on the Croats in central Bosnia contrary to their wishes, they were drawn into this conflict, it was demanded they go to war, the war policy dictated this to them, and blind obedience was expected. This is actually not about the individuals who are being taken or will be taken to The Hague court, but an attempt to identify the Bosnian Croats with the crimes of individuals. However, these individuals were merely carrying out somebody's orders and were pushed into the situation when they had to implement them. Those who refused were killed. This is the problem, this is the tragic destiny of the Bosnian Croats. Now, from the Dayton perspective, it is all patently obvious.

Croats Must Have an Autonomous Policy

[Lovric] Will the fact that everything is patently obvious help the Croats in Bosnia?

[Komsic] It can only help the Croats in Bosnia to wake up. It shows that the only correct policy of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the one guided by the principle that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina must pursue an autonomous Bosnia-Herzegovina policy. It cannot be dictated from the side. They must depart from their characteristics and the coexistence with others and adapt it to the conditions of life in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our Croatian National Council was formed precisely for that reason — to create the autonomous Croatian policy, to organize the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats into the masters of their fate, as a subject of their Bosnia-Herzegovina history. Unfortunately, many did not listen to us. Had they, what has happened to us now would not have happened. I hope that the Dayton agreement will have the paltry benefit of opening the eyes of many.

[Lovric] What could be the stance of the Muslims toward the Croats and their position in Bosnia? Izetbegovic has nevertheless managed to preserve the representatives of the Croats in the presidency?

[Komsic] It was not Izetbegovic who preserved the representatives of the Croats and the Serbs in the presidency, but rather the Croats and the Serbs defended their country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, through its institutions and would not agree to it becoming an exclusively Muslim state. This is a more correct definition.

[Lovric] So, you did not give up?

[Komsic] We fought for our national interests there; however, we always viewed them in relation to the interests of others, because neither Bosnia nor its presidency can sport one monolith national interest, as these interests are interwoven. Also, the country and the motherland cannot be defended unless its institutions are defended and preserved. My tasks, my moral and political obligation — as the Croatian institutions interested in the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina required from me — was to take part in these authorities and fight as much as I can. [passage omitted]

Croatia, FRY Hold Talks on Missing Persons

LD0712195895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 7 (TANJUG) — Members of the joint Yugoslav and Croatian government missing persons' commission met in Zagreb on Thursday under the provisions of the special agreement reached in Dayton, Ohio.

The delegations were headed by deputy premiers Uros Klikovac for the Yugoslav and Ivica Kostovic for the Croatian side. The talks, held behind closed doors, were attended by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

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A joint commission was created on the basis of an agreement signed by Yugoslavia and Croatia in Dayton about the search of missing persons in each others' territories.

Croatia has submitted to Yugoslavia a list of 2,800 persons reported as missing since the beginning of the war until May this year, while Yugoslavia presented a list of 1,000 persons to Croatia.

However, several thousand Serbs have been reported missing since Croatia's May and August aggressions on the western, southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Serb side pointed out that Croatia's figures on missing persons were unrealistic and that Croatia had reliable information that some of them had been killed on the front.

War in Croatia started in 1991 after Croatia launched its war of secession from the former Yugoslavia. The Serbs declared the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) in their ethnic and historic territories in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia and donwgrading of the Serbs to a national minority.

The army of the former Yugoslavia, which grouped all peoples and natinalities of the former federation, withdrew from Croatia's territory after the adoption of the Vance Plan in 1992 under which RSK was placed under U.N. protection.

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Skopje, Athens To Open Liaison Offices in Jan

AU0612080295 Skopje MIC in English 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The liaisons offices between Athens and Skopje will be opened towards the middle of January, next year. This news, as MAKFAKS reports, was announced yesterday by the Athens news agency. The pending opening of the liaisons offices was announced at the meeting Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski had in Skopje last week with Aleksandar Maljas, high-ranking official in the Greek Foreign Ministry.

The exact date of starting with work is not yet determined, however, it was said at the meeting Crvenkovski-Maljas that their simultaneous opening in Athens and Skopje will contribute to the strengthening of the cooperation between the two countries, as well as the mutual confidence.

MIC Reports Inflation Increased in Nov

AU0612080395 Skopje MIC in English 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Compared to the previous month, the retail prices were 1.6 percent higher this month. According to the Bureau of Statistics, the largest increase in retail prices is recorded with the "group" agricultural products—28.7 percent, which is owed to the increase in the prices of the vegetables—46.1 percent and fruits—7.4 percent. The other product groups note only minimal price increases, namely, the industrial products only 0.2 percent, the non-food products 0.3 percent and services 0.4 percent. The cumulative price increase in retail products for the period January-November 1995, compared to the same period last year, amounts to 16.5 percent.

Compared to the previous month, the living costs increased 1.9 percent in November. This increase is noticed with the food—3.7 percent, clothing and footwear—1.3 percent, hygiene and health—0.9 percent and household expenses—0.8 percent. The cumulative index of the living costs for the period January-November 1995, compared to the same period January-November 1994, is 16.4 percent higher.

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Judges: Kwasniewski Had No Higher Education

LD0712231695 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski does not have higher education; therefore, the information he gave to the State Electoral Commission [PKW] is untrue.

Such a clause is contained in the justification of the Supreme Court ruling on protests, which raised the issue that the president-elect gave untrue information. According to the benches of judges, giving such untrue information by Aleksander Kwasniewski's staff was a violation of the September 1990 Presidential Election Act.

[Correspondent M. Zietkiewicz] Judges of the Administrative Chamber of the Supreme Court have ended examining the protests connected with Aleksander Kwasniewski's education. All the benches of ruling judges decided that the president-elect did not have higher education. Differences among the judges only concern the issue of how this fact influenced the election outcome.

In justification of the ruling sent to plenipotentiaries of Lech Walesa's electoral staff, the judges wrote that documents from Gdansk University were incomplete; examination cards are missing from the seventh, eighth, and ninth terms [in Poland, one academic year is divided into two terms].

On the basis of the available documents, one can say that Aleksander Kwasniewski failed to pass the examination in International Transport and Haulage. He did not account for the Civil and Trade Laws, although he passed exams in these subjects. He did not account for a seminar in the western language.

The court also ruled that the candidate's education was an essential motive influencing voters' decisions. In this way, the false data given by the candidate influenced the election outcome, which is all the more important when the small difference of the obtained vote of the two candidates is taken into consideration. But the statement alone of a possibility to influence the voting outcome does not constitute enough evidence for the Court. [passage omitted]

[Zietkiewicz] From the total number of about 590,00 protests, only 7,000 contained notes that the voters were misled. The court stressed that the information about higher education might have influenced the voters, but an honest appreciation of the size of this influence is not possible. And because it is impossible to do so, we cannot say that it might have influenced the election outcome.

In this way, five benches of judges ruling on protests connected with the president-elect's education reached three different decisions. First, some judges ruled that false data contained in the PKW posters about [Aleksander Kwasniewski's] education might have influenced the elections; second, other judges ruled that such data had no influence on the election outcome; and third, still other judges, as in the quoted justification of the ruling, ruled that it was not possible to say if false data had any influence.

The final verdict will be issued the day after tomorrow [9 December] by the Administrative Chamber of the Supreme Court].

Campaign Head on Kwasniewski Education

WS0712142395 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 4

[Article by Danuta Waniek, head of Aleksander Kwasniewski's campaign staff: "Study of University Studies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Several days ago the Supreme Court obliged me to provide an immediate answer to the question on what grounds I made a public statement to the effect that Aleksander Kwasniewski passed all the examinations (with the exception of the examination for a masters degree), all the tests, and completed all the practical courses envisioned by the university regulations.*

The Supreme Court's letter was a result of a protest filed on this issue. Given that I am convinced that the arguments I cited in my letter to the Supreme Court may be interesting to TRYBUNA readers, I will try to repeat the gist of my answer.

1. In May 1995, before the election campaign started, Aleksander Kwasniewski told me that, in the past, he did write a masters thesis; however, for personal reasons he had not taken the masters degree examination. At the same time, he assured me that, by July 1978, he had passed all of the examinations and tests and had completed all of the practical courses envisioned for students in accordance with the university regulations of those days. He also remembered that his overall average mark was 4.6. Hence, in light of the aforementioned, he believed that he had the right to claim that he had higher education. He repeated the same opinion in POLITYKA No.48 of 2 December 1995 in an interview entitled "Politics Without Prosthesis" (page 15).

2. Given that I was aware of the fact that both the Polish law and practice established on the basis of this law

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do not use the term "higher education" in an explicit form, I decided to consult legal regulations effective at the time Aleksander Kwasniewski completed his studies at the Department of Transport Economy—that is, in 1978. Those regulations were to give me an answer to the question on whether Aleksander Kwasniewski's belief that he had higher education was grounded in legal terms.

According to data in my possession, in those days the status of students of the institutions of higher education was regulated by two resolutions:

a) the resolution on higher schools of 5 November 1958 that, in my opinion, did not give an explicit answer to the question of who can be considered a higher school graduate;

b) on employment of higher school graduates of 25 February 1964, whose Article 11, Section 2 said in particular: "The provisions of this resolution shall also be applied to students in their last year who do not take masters degree (diploma) examinations after the current resolution takes effect and who do not provide valid reasons within a time frame set by higher school administrations in accordance with relevant regulations."

The aforementioned resolution was accompanied by a Council of Ministers decision of 13 June 1964 concerning employment of higher school graduates and the obligation to repay the costs of education. Paragraph 1, Section 6 of the same decision provides the following definition: "graduates—this term also refers to students mentioned in Article 11, Section 2 of the resolution on employment of higher school students."

Article 91 of the resolution of 21 November 1967 on the general duty of protecting the Polish Republic interprets this issue in a similar manner: "When mentioning 'higher school graduates,' the resolution refers to draftees who completed the final year of schooling envisioned by schedules of uninterrupted studies for a masters degree or studies for professional higher education and began schooling at a complementary course for a master's degree; and it refers as well to draftees who completed the final year of schooling envisioned by the schedule of university studies, even if they did not complete their studies or if they took day, evening, or correspondence courses."

On 15 July 1974, the minister of science, higher schooling, and technology issued instructions that stipulate that the completion of studies comes when a student meets the following conditions:

a) acquires credit for all of the subjects and practical courses envisioned by training schedules;

b) receives at least a satisfactory mark for the diploma paper;

c) passes the diploma examination with at least a satisfactory mark.

Those instructions were authorized by the resolution on higher schooling issued in 1958.

It appears from the cited regulations that the notion "higher school graduate" was interpreted ambiguously during Aleksander Kwasniewski's university studies. In certain situations, those persons were considered higher school graduates who presented their masters degree papers and passed masters degree examinations, as well as those students who did not pass those examinations.

In my opinion, Aleksander Kwasniewski had grounds to enjoy the status of a person with a higher education. In this context, the Supreme Court's resolution on pension rights has a certain significance as a precedent. The resolution interprets to the advantage of interested individuals the term "completion of education" at a certain faculty (that is, the passing of all examinations, tests, and practical courses), and not the term "completion of university studies," which involves the presentation of a diploma paper and the passing of the masters degree examination.

I also believe that Article 12 of the resolution of 11 May 1995 on the Supreme Administrative Court and Article 28 of the resolution of 20 September 1984 on the Supreme Court were formulated in a similar spirit. Among the conditions for appointing an individual as a judge, the cited regulations mention "the completion of juridical university studies and a masters degree." The two conditions are presented separately.

3. To complete my story, I would like to add that Professor Z. Grzonka, Gdansk University rector, during our telephone conversation on 24 November 1994, refused to grant me further access to the university archives dealing with the process of Aleksander Kwasniewski's university studies. In particular, he did not explain to me whether he and Professor B. Synak based their statement regarding the education acquired by the Polish Republic's president-elect in Gdansk University on the currently valid resolution on higher education issued on 12 September 1990, applying that resolution to a case that existed under another resolution, that of 15 November 1958.

In my understanding, this would only be justified if Aleksander Kwasniewski would currently like to present his masters degree paper and pass the masters degree examination. However, as far as I know, the president-elect has not expressed readiness to do so. If my reasoning is correct, we should think about whether

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the behavior of the Gdansk University rectors does not violate the principle in accordance with which laws are not retroactive.

4. I have found out that properly secured documents can be used as testimony about the period of Aleksander Kwasniewski's university studies. Those documents include:

a) examination protocols that include names of courses on which examinations were passed, first and last names of students, numbers of registers, marks, as well as dates and signatures of examiners;

b) a student's record book;

c) an examination card;

d) a register or a file of students.

Beginning in the fourth year, Aleksander Kwasniewski acquired the faculty management's permission to study in accordance with an individual training schedule. I hope that the current Gdansk University rectors know about that.

Meanwhile, if we talk about legal significance of information regarding the presidential candidate's education and included in the Statement of the National Election Commission, in my opinion neither the small constitution nor the resolution of 27 September 1990 about elections of the Polish Republic's president link any legal consequences to a candidate's education, particularly his eligibility for being a candidate. I will not make a mistake, saying that this is only one out of many elements of a candidate's sociological characteristic. The Law on the Polish Republic's Sejm Election, for instance, does not demand that information on a candidate's education be provided (Article 81).

It is a pity that lawyers write and say so little about this issue, and in fact passively observe the hysteria raised around the results of democratic elections by secret ballot in Poland in the fall of 1995.

Kwasniewski 'Likely' To Set Up NSC

LD0712233795 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski is likely to set up the National Security Council [Pol: Rada Bezpieczenstwa Narodowego, NSC]. As envisaged by the constitution, this would be an advisory body to the head of state.

At present, the National Defense Committee [KOK], which does not figure in the three-year interim constitution, is the advisory body with regard to Poland's external and internal security.

[Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, Democratic Left Alliance (SLD)] spokesman] President Lech Walesa did not make use of his powers, provided by the Minor Constitution, and has not set up the National Security Council. He preferred to work with the old structure, dating from the times of the Polish People's Republic—that is, with KOK.

[Announcer] The existing National Security Bureau [BBN] is, according to Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, only a secretariat of the council that does not exist. The president-elect's spokesman said that next week Aleksander Kwasniewski would begin intensive consultations aimed at appointments of the so-called presidential ministries. At the same time, he added that the initiative to nominate candidates to these ministries belongs to the prime minister.

[Siemiatkowski] It is Aleksander Kwasniewski's intention to appoint such people to these posts who are, first, competent, and second, not readily identified politically with the current ruling coalition.

[Announcer] Aleksander Kwasniewski will most likely return to Poland from his holiday in Spain shortly before the announcement of the Supreme Court verdict on the validity of the elections.

Kwasniewski Role in Russian Campaign Criticized

WS0812134495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Dec 95 p 3

[Article by "AN": "Why Did Kwasniewski Back Popov? Social Democratic Debts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Christian-National Union [ZChN] Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki referred yesterday to the president-elect's participation in election campaign television programs of the Russian social democrats as political irresponsibility.

Kwasniewski was shown in a clip supporting the Social Democratic bloc, which is running in the Russian parliamentary elections in December. According to the ZChN leader, this does not serve Polish interests: "A person who is to hold the highest state office must not engage in election campaigns outside its borders, particularly in Russia, whose relations with Poland are complex."

"This is a decent, social democratic party with which we maintain contacts at the forum of the Socialist International," Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski replied. According to him, "the

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bloc's leader, Gavril Popov, asked Aleksander for support in Austria, where he was staying at the invitation of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky."

In the past, Popov was Moscow mayor; he was one of the initiators of the Democratic Russia movement and a collaborator of Andrey Sakharov. "His opposition record is quite good," Siemiatkowski believes.

According to the SLD spokesman, "anticommunist forces" in Russia are interpreting Kwasniewski's electoral success as the return of the communists to power in Poland, "a vogue for communism or for a return to roots." "To deny all this, Kwasniewski decided to take part in a video clip. Incidentally, other social democrats supported us in our campaign. Vranitzky invited Aleksander to Austria, SPD invited him to Germany; in June, Kwasniewski met with Socialist Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. Now we are paying off our debt," Siemiatkowski told us.

ZChN Head Offers Nonaggression Pact

WS0812132195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by "WZ": "Czarnecki: Perhaps the Electorate Is Wiser Than Politicians; Right-Wing Pact on Nonaggression"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We are proposing a pact on nonaggression to the right wing," Christian-National Union [ZChN] leader Ryszard Czarnecki said yesterday. "The rightist electorate does not like quarrels. Perhaps it is wiser than politicians."

ZChN leaders, who before the news conference had visited Lech Walesa, agreed with him that there is a need to form a strong political bloc that would be able to create a counterbalance to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Czarnecki believes that it might include "right of center" parties as well as Solidarity. He reserves the role of patron for Walesa.

During the news conference, he proposed cooperation with anti-SLD groups in the enfranchisement referendum, in the constitutional referendum, as well as in the powiat [small administrative units that existed in the past and that may be reestablished] and parliamentary elections. Czarnecki did not mention the Freedom Union [UW]. After the conference, however, he asked journalists whether Balcerowicz's party is interested in such cooperation.

On the same day, leaders of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] called their news conference. They stated that they are "morally entitled" to form Walesa's political base. They announced the formation of a Christian-Democratic Bloc for Poland. Jerzy Gwizdz did not spare the parties that endorsed the president only in the second round: "If someone comes at five minutes before 12, he may leave at five minutes after 12."

For this reason, Gwizdz wants to talk only with "serious people." He called the ZChN a party that "exists primarily in the press." BBWR Spokesman Leszek Zielinski cannot see the BBWR and UW in the same camp.

Views on Rightist Bloc Formation Presented

WS0812095595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Dec 95 p 5

[Article by Wojciech Zaluska: "Alliance Against Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Opposition parties are providing several answers today to the question of how the power of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] could be limited.

Even before the second round of the presidential elections was held, Lech Walesa proposed a return to the idea of a Citizens' Committee. Opposing the SLD, he claimed, there should be a single post-Solidarity bloc. Today he is encouraging opposition leaders to form such a bloc.

Advocates of this idea are scattered in various groups. Within the Christian-National Union [ZChN], it is endorsed by Stefan Niesiolowski. Its supporters in the Freedom Union [UW] include Donald Tusk, Bronislaw Komorowski, and Jan Maria Rokita. Here is what the latter recently told GAZETA WYBORCZA: "The union right wing (grouped around Solidarity—'S'), the national right wing (headed by the ZChN), and the townspeople's right wing (which includes UW) should prepare in the coming months a single electoral ticket and win the elections."

On behalf of the Conservative Party [PK], the idea is supported by Aleksander Hall. He claims that the SLD opponent should be the entire "post-[1980] August camp," with UW at one end and supporters of Jan Olszewski at the other.

The Snowball Effect

Fervent supporters of the idea of preparing a joint ticket frequently point to the parliamentary election law: The winner of the elections receives a bonus in the form of additional seats. Thus, the winner becomes even stronger.

Dariusz Wojcik (Confederation for an Independent Poland—KPN): "A prize for reaching an agreement might be over 50 percent of the seats in the Sejm."

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Hall warns that an alternative to this is the current situation: UW, the KPN, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], and the Republicans have representatives in the parliament, but they are weak; their role is only symbolic.

One list does not necessarily mean one party. The purpose of it is primarily to ensure as many parliamentary seats for non-SLD deputies as possible. Only then will the time come to form more solid coalitions based on a platform. The coalitions that are mentioned most frequently are the two or three listed by Rokita.

These arguments do not convince everyone. ZChN Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki believes that "unification of everyone with everyone else" may prove detrimental. The idea of a great coalition may be rejected by the most fanatical opponents of UW and of the right wing. The former will become more radical and the latter will start supporting the SLD.

The Two Pole Explanation Is a Myth

"Against" are also many UW leaders. "It is no use throwing everyone into the same bag," says one UW leader. "A foundation on which a joint bloc can be formed must be a common platform. Now, what do Olszewski and Geremek have in common?"

UW Spokesman Andrzej Potocki cautions against drawing hasty conclusions from the presidential elections: "The only reason society split into two camps was that there were two candidates. In reality, it is far more pluralized."

Potocki warns: "If we form a bloc of Walesa voters, Kwasniewski's voters will become the SLD's electorate. As a result, we will only consolidate the postcommunists." Here is his conclusion: It is necessary to form a camp to oppose the SLD, but not one that would be against the half of Poles who voted for its leader. It is advisable to try to attract the electorate of both Walesa and Kwasniewski. Formation of a single post-Solidarity bloc does not serve this purpose.

The UW According to Balcerowicz

UW tactics have recently been presented by Leszek Balcerowicz. UW should seek closer ties to those right-wing parties whose platforms are fairly close to its own platform: the PK, the Christian-Peasant Party, Zbigniew Religa's Republicans, Andrzej Olechowski's Movement of One Hundred. With these parties it is possible to work out a common electoral list and to form a single political bloc.

To accomplish "goals that are important to Poland," UW should seek "issue-related" allies. Balcerowicz does not rule out either the ZChN, "S," or the SLD. He says that "integration with the EU and NATO and the social insurance reform are all-national tasks. Their implementation requires cooperation above divisions."

However, he always stresses that UW's place is in the opposition. It is also in the center, adds UW Club Spokesman Potocki. This is because such a position enables the party to exert influence on the entire political scene, not only on the post-Solidarity part of it.

The PSL Wants To, but It Cannot

The tactic UW is using in the Sejm: It is trying to limit the SLD's power by cooperating with the KPN, the Union of Labor, and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. It even held talks with the latter two parties on the possibility of forming a new government coalition. UP leader Ryszard Bugaj revealed the idea too early, which spelled its end.

However, the opposition is still ready to cooperate with the PSL. The peasants do not intend (for the time being?) to break up the governing coalition, but they certainly are interested in the weakening of the SLD. This is because the party is attracting increasingly more people in the countryside—it is growing stronger at the cost of the peasant party. This was clear in the most recent poll conducted by the Center for Research on Public Opinion. If the elections were held today, the SLD would obtain 260 seats, whereas the PSL would get only 15.

The peasants are itching to limit the SLD's influence, but they are in a trap. The postcommunists have a weapon the peasants are afraid of—early parliamentary elections. The PSL would not like that at all.

Finance Minister Interviewed on Army Expenses

WS0612150095 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 17-19 Nov 95 pp 1,3

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Grzegorz Kolodko by Antoni Witkowski and Ryszard Choroszy; place and date not given: "I'm All For the Army, but..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, do you identify with the "Assumptions for Poland's Security Policies", especially with the provision that Poland needs an army self-sufficient enough to resolve possible local conflicts?

[Kolodko] I'm responsible for "The Strategy for Poland," but for economic development and not for military strategy, tactics, or national defense in the event of any possible local conflicts. Yes, I do identify

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with these "Assumptions." If, however, the question formulated in this manner is merely a pretext for using the back door to bring out financial issues, with the stipulation that the army hasn't enough money and is incapable of resolving local conflicts by itself, then I will make the reservation right here at the start that I will not agree to this style of discussion. For if as minister of finance, citizen, and taxpayer I were to discover that with the funds it has received the army is not capable of defending the motherland on its own, I would reach the conclusion that taxpayers' money is being wasted.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The army must reform - there's no doubt about that. If it were to retain its shape from the 1980's it would not be able to perform its tasks within the strategy of national defense. Yet nobody has ever assigned additional means for that reform. The mining or shipbuilding industries, to use an example, received support for restructuring. Mr. Prime Minister, do you think the army ought to be able to carry out reforms with the means it has for regular operations?

[Kolodko] Yes, the army ought to be able to do that. This year, after a few years' sharp drop in the real value of outlays for defense spending and arms industry restructuring, that drop amounted to just 1 percent, and I would project a 4.3 percent increase in 1995. That is a positive answer regarding the financial condition of the army. If we were to include both retirement and disability benefits, the Ministry of Defense budget will rise by 6.1 percent.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, both soldiers and generals know about economic rules, the value of a free market economy, and understand what high inflation can mean for the Defense Ministry budget and the taxpayer's pocket. Please explain, then, why for the third consecutive time growth in national income has outpaced increases in military spending.

[Kolodko] One of my foreign colleagues told me some time ago that for me the worst period in the transformation of the economy is still to come, precisely because there is growth in national income to be divided, and everybody expects a larger share. I must emphasize, however, that investments in 1996 will rise at a faster rate (8.8 percent), so that Poland's growth in the future can accelerate equally. Consumer-related expenditures will therefore rise by 4 percent, and expenditures for individual consumption, also in career soldiers' families, by 4.3 percent. Overall expenditures out of the state budget will rise by 1.4 percent and those for the Ministry of Defense will increase by 4.3 percent.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Such sectors as higher education, agriculture, law enforcement, public security, science and the health service got much more.

[Kolodko] That's true. If we were to poll public opinion for preferences, I seriously doubt if national defense were to top the list. The government made these decisions on the basis of priorities laid down in the "Strategy for Poland." On the other hand, since the real value of outlays for national defense will go up by 4.3 percent, then the increase for, say, social care will be only 2.3 percent, and 3.7 percent for arts and culture. Representatives of our cultural life have said: Though there is no war, more money is being spent. Other neglected social groups have expressed a similar opinion. If somebody says it's not enough, I'm willing to accept that. It's a matter of making a choice of social preferences, something that governments, not parliaments, or even more so, finance ministers, should decide about. If other decisions are made, I will conform to them. The Council of Ministers has decided that next year national security, among other needs, is a greater priority. This has been justified by such factors as increased employment and allocations for materials for the Interior Ministry, particularly the police forces.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Let's assume, Mr. Prime Minister, that you could make single decisions as to how to appropriate several billions of undenominated zlotys that had been saved to one branch of the economy. What would your preference be?

[Kolodko] I would definitely appropriate this money to education. I think it's more important today to invest by providing the younger generation with a better education than to invest in the army. And I can well understand the army may disapprove. These are very tough decisions. Politicians have a rare ability to make promises, do patchwork, and avoid key issues. I know that what I've said isn't popular, yet the truth ought to be told.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The Sejm [parliament] has voted a resolution for increasing budgetary expenditures on defense to 3 percent of GNP by the year 1997, while the prime minister has said it would be impossible before the year 2000.

[Kolodko] I believe the manner in which such discussions on the state budget were held is misconceived. If we were to sum up all the expenses in the resolutions and motions proposed in the Sejm, we would discover that, by far, they exceed 100 percent. I had the courage to say this to the Honorable Chamber of Parliament. Such resolutions and motions — taken against economic laws and the forces of gravity — are an expression of wishful thinking. And this is how defense expenditures established at 3 percent of GNP should be viewed. A

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resolution of that kind would make economic sense and would be politically sound if it also stated whose means would have to be reduced. But proponents of these resolutions lacked the necessary courage to do that. Let me just remind you that the Sejm made similar decisions with regard to science, education, culture, and health.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The government statement says that from 1997, the per annum increase in allocations for materials in the Defense Ministry's budget will be 3 percent above the real growth of budgetary expenses. What does this actually mean? Does it mean that despite the 5 percent average GNP growth planned until the end of 1998, military spending will actually decrease?

[Kolodko] In making these assumptions our goal was to differentiate between allocations related to materials and to payroll. This is because next year's allocations to payroll expenditures for national defense will rise faster than allocations for materials. These proportions may be reversed, though it will take bold and unpopular decisions from top-ranking Ministry of Defense officials to do that. If so, I absolutely will not interfere in their internal divisions. Let me repeat once again, responsible discussion may be held only if a well-founded question is posed: What will the real value of the increase in military expenditures be? — rather than what the growth will be as a percentage of the GNP. Picture a situation in which once again there is a dip in national income. Nobody would then propose to use a GNP percentage as a measure. If next year the army were to have a 3 percent share of GNP it would antagonize the entire nation. It would mean the real value of military expenditures had frogleaped by 28 percent. To make matters worse, if we were to keep to the concept of 3 percent of the GNP for the military during the years 1996-2000, we would have to devote 80 percent of the growth in national income to the needs of national defense. That is simply not workable. I am in favor of increasing the real value of expenditures for national defense, in favor of financing 100 percent of the army restructuring costs out of the state budget, in favor of maintaining our defense readiness at an appropriate level and maintaining a high standard of living for our career soldiers, but this should all be viewed in the proper proportions.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Are you convinced that there were really no other possibilities for guaranteeing the army an appropriate budget from the year 1996?

[Kolodko] Yes, indeed. The last phase of work on the budget saw increases in allocations for science, for such goals as realization by the Scientific Research Committee [KBN] of strategic government defense programs. The government appropriated 65 million PZL [denominated zlotys] towards that end. Means have also been assigned for maintaining the production potential for defense needs. The instruments we have applied with regard to the arms industry have already produced results. Production capacity has improved twofold over barely 3-4 years. Although much remains to be done before their full capacity can be utilized, I do not believe we actually need the arms industry working at such peak capacity. Nevertheless, I do agree that large plants need restructuring. The previous government decided that means from EFSAL funds would be allocated for the use of the 'Mesko' plant. We have created a special economic zone in Mielec. All these facts ought to be considered when tallying a record of appropriations for defense needs.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] We must frankly admit, Mr. Prime Minister, that phones at our office rang furiously after we published your statement that the government intends to raise military preparedness, and decisions to increase defense spending will follow. People were terrified it will all be at the taxpayers' expense...

[Kolodko] Military expenditures will always be at the taxpayers' expense. The Ministry of Finance doesn't print money. I will keep repeating that.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, do you know of any army in the world that doesn't support itself through taxpayers' money?

[Kolodko] I keep hearing that the government is unwilling to give any money. But I claim the government gives no money at all. We have only taxpayers' money and distribute it by way of parliamentary decisions. Such sectors as health care, education, and culture all expect this of us. This money belongs to all of us.

If we want to make defense spending a priority, we have to take away from others, raise taxes, or print extra money. Please show me a politician who will say this, especially now, before the elections. However, it would be an honest presentation of the truth.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, priorities are the responsibility of the government, parliament, and people who answer for the status of the Polish Army and the condition of the arms industry, for the security and defense of the nation. There has been a relative reduction of the state budget deficit with each coming year; thus, a portion of it could be appropriated to the meet the needs of the army.

[Kolodko] I will defend government budget proposals before parliament, just as the army has been putting up a defense for independence and military preparedness. I will not agree to financing that will lead to higher inflation. This would be acceptable only if there was a regional conflict or enemy at our very borders. We

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would then have an extraordinary situation. There is no such threat today, and so financing national defense at the cost of increasing the deficit would amount to a gross economic and strategic blunder.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Should not the priority of the Polish Government be integration with Western European military structures?

[Kolodko] I am opening the discussion about budget expenditure priorities in 1997. Since we are speaking of NATO and the high costs of integration, we ought to persuade society of this program. Ought we openly admit it will cost us — and how much it will cost us? We can either raise taxes or give up carrying out competing goals. I will ask: What goals? I propose creative lobbying, not strife. What I mean is a lobby that will solicit real support for financing the Armed Forces wherever it is possible: in the media, in parliamentary and professional discussions.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, let's get down to the level of the regiment commander who runs into the everyday problems of dwindling supplies, lack of funds for the purchase of spare parts or for training. What would you say to him?

[Kolodko] I can understand these issues, I am interested in the army's problems, and I will say this: I am all for the army. Nobody told me to call on the regiment quartered in Braniewo when I was on a visit there. I saw the conditions they store their equipment in. I was shown their shower rooms and toilets. At the FAMA music festival in Swinoujscie, I actually demanded an invitation to a navy unit stationed there. I wanted to see how the men live on navy vessels, so as to better understand the situation in the army. I also went over to see an air force unit in Minsk Mazowiecki.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] We now know you flew airplanes, but were you ever in the armed service?

[Kolodko] Surely few profes[illegible] soldiers have flown MiG-29s, but I have. I did this only to make it clear that I'm for the army. I've never been to war. But I do have a feeling I've been fighting on a battlefront, but this was not Verdun-style trench warfare. I don't shoot blindly, and I'm waiting for it to end, because we are continuing our advance in the economy and are gaining headway.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Mr. Prime Minister, such positive declarations of will ought to be followed with appropriate funds for building a better army. You surely must know that in the last few years the size of the army has been cut down in half and that of the Ministry of Defense budget by 80 percent.

[Kolodko] I won't keep repeating myself that there is no money. All I am demanding as the guardian of public funds is that these monies are well spent. I don't think you would like to entertain the subject of how deplorably public funds are used, in the army as well. And I know of specific examples. Nobody is without fault, you know.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] The army pays value added tax, real estate tax, land lease tax, transport tax, insurance tax, income tax from natural persons, and also compensation for victims of repression. In addition to that, it pays retirement and disability pensions. All the taxes and pensions amount to a total of approximately 28 percent of the Ministry of Defense's budget. Doesn't it seem a misunderstanding of sorts? Isn't the army treated as a business institution?

[Kolodko] The question has been incorrectly phrased, since parliament has recently upheld zero percent VAT until 1999 on army purchases of Polish-made equipment and arms. A second fact needs explaining: Compensation for victims of repression is not a cost debiting the budget of the Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Justice. Expenses to that end are allocated from assigned reserves. The third point I'd like to make is that soldiers are citizens of the Republic just as anybody else. That's why they are under the same obligation to pay taxes on personal income.

And now that we have ventured on the topic of retirement pensions — I ask why has extra money gone to higher inflation adjustments for military personnel than for civilian employees - rather than being spent on tanks and planes? I would back this as the minister of finance. Yet if I am to be public enemy number one of all pensioners, then I would rather renege on that position. I admit new rules for inflation adjustments of compensation ought also to include those in the military service. What we have today generates negative attitudes of civilian pensioners towards the army. Why am I citing this example? If the actual growth in compensation levels were lowered from 2.5 percent to 1.5 percent, the savings obtained as a result would be equivalent to roughly 5 billion PLZ. This extra money could be used for national defense or other necessary expenditures. Why wasn't this done? Because nobody wants to hear of it. I am by no means setting pensioners against the army. I am merely pointing at other concurrent goals which would have to be financed out of the same means. That is why effective parliamentary lobbying for financing the military does not mean calling for resolutions that cost nothing (3 percent of the GNP, for example), but rather such actions as pointing to who should be deprived of some of these means.

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[POLSKA ZBROJNA] Let us, however, return to the key question of whether the diminishing share in the redistribution of budget expenses in the GNP will not threaten the 3 percent above inflation growth in material allocations planned by the government.

[Kolodko] I do not see such a danger. "The Strategy for Poland" provides a gradual reduction in budget expenses in the GNP to separate the manufacturing sector from the budget. There are states that do not occupy themselves with mines, shipyards, steelworks, restructuring agriculture, or banks. They are stable, developed, and have a fully privatized economy. We still have some costs to pay, including the costs of social peace. The time may have come for restructuring the Armed Forces and raising our national defense to a higher level, a higher technical level, as well. The condition for significantly higher material allocations to be made for the army is maintaining high economic growth, which is one of the main priorities of the state budget for 1996.

[POLSKA ZBROJNA] One last question: After the announcement of the government's plans for next year's budget, many of our readers were interested in learning the payment dates of the increased salaries for those in active duty. Opinions were split on this issue. Could you tell us, Mr. Prime Minister, when this increase will become effective and what its average value will be?

[Kolodko] In accordance with Article 26, Clause 6 of the draft budget act, functionaries of the Interior Ministry, prison guards, and career soldiers ought to receive a salary increase from January 1, 1996, whose average value will equal approximately 124 PLN [redenominated currency; expansion unknown] gross per full time employee.

Budget Expenses for National Defense (all values in current prices = PLN)

Career soldiers—payroll	3,266.3
Maintenance costs of Ministry of Defense headquarters	39.4
Operating costs of facilities and technical equipment	1,437.7
Service costs	500.7
Assets purchases:	
—Armaments and investments	887.5
—Army medical services	427.4
—Social benefits	1,791.7
Career soldiers—payroll	3,266.3
—Maintenance of production potential for national defense	172.3
—Other costs for defense needs	121.0
Total	8,643.8 million

Source: Ministry of Finance

Cabinet Committee Favors Purchase of Iryda Planes

WS0812115795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by Z.L.: "Army Will Order Improved Iryda Aircraft; Poorer but Ours"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The National Defense Ministry [MON] will buy from the Mielec plant six more Iryda planes and order the factory to modernize nine other Irydas the Armed Forces already have in hand. The ministry will not buy any combat-training aircraft abroad, and the money that has been earmarked for that purpose will help finance the project of modernizing the Mielec-made plane.*

This solution will be submitted to the government by the Defense Issues Committee of the Council of Ministers [KSORM], Jan Kuriata, deputy minister of defense, and Jerzy Markowski, deputy minister of industry and trade, announced yesterday after the KSORM meeting. Such a resolution of the Mielec problem is also supported by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander, who is KSORM chairman. "Now that KSORM has made the decision, which the Council of Minister will probably accept, the unrest in Mielec has no basis," Markowski assessed on Thursday.

Deputy Minister Kuriata admitted yesterday that, while MON agreed to purchase the Iryda, it had to take into account various factors, which sometimes means accepting a product that is "poorer but ours." Deputy Minister Markowski announced that the purchase of three more planes (in addition to the three that are already being made) "will save the plant." [passage omitted]

UZP: MON Transgressed Law in Alpha Jet Deal

LD0712213795 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] In announcing the purchase of the Alpha Jet combat and training plane, the Ministry of National Defense [MON] transgressed

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the law on public sector orders, the Wiadomosci program has been told by Chairman of the Public Sector Orders Office [Urzad Zamowien Publicznych—UZP] Jozef Zuk.

[Correspondent] All state bodies making use of monies from the budget are obliged to adhere to the law on public sector orders. This thus also applies to the Defense Ministry. The Public Sector Orders Office must be informed of all transactions entered into by public offices. If the Defense Ministry acknowledges that making a transaction public threatens the security of the country, it may hold back some of the details as confidential. These are so-called particular orders. MON feels that the purchase of Alpha Jets would be precisely such an order. If the Alpha Jets are to be recognised as a "particular order," then, in the view of UZP the MON has transgressed the law in such a case as well.

[Begin recording] [UZP Chairman Zuk] The official bodies putting through an order ought to pass on information to UZP, without giving the details—I stress this once more, giving the number or the code of the case—that the implemenattion of such and such an order has commenced, on such and such principles.

[Correspondent] Did you receive such a report?

[Zuk] Unfortunately, I have not received any such notice.

[Correspondent] Let us recall: According to reports from MON, a proposal for the purchase of used, 13-year-old Alpha Jets was put forward by the German side on 17 October. It is not clear whether this was done by their Defense Ministry or through an intermediary firm. It is clear, despite the fact that they were not examined by our experts as MON assures, that the proposal for their purchase seemed to be attractive. However, because it called forth much controversy, among deputies as well, the minister of defense was authorized by the prime minister to justify his proposal in a Sejm statement on 1 December. After Minister Okonski announced in the Sejm that production of the Iryda would cease and that Alpha Jets would be purchased, a strike began in Mielec [where the Iryda is produced] [end recording]

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Speaker Nastase Discusses Results of U.S. Visit

AU0712204395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, held a news conference at the Metropolitan Hill Palace today on the official visit he recently paid to the United States as the head of a delegation of the Chamber of Deputies. He said that this visit took place at a time when the United States is paying particular attention to the situation in the former Yugoslavia, since it is considering sending U.S. troops to Bosnia. The main message of the Romanian delegation was that if the Dayton accord is going to be implemented, Romania might become a privileged partner, from a geostrategic viewpoint. The overall U.S. assessment was that Romania is moving in the right direction; the Romanian offer to support the multinational troops in Bosnia was appreciated.

Deputy Vasile Popovici [Civic Alliance Party, PAC] said that the opinion about Romania has changed in Washington and that this was the first Romanian delegation that included representatives of both the ruling party and the opposition, all of whom spoke a common language, without differences.

The participants in the news conference emphasized that the visit occasioned meetings with all the congressmen who will support the granting of the most-favored-nation clause for Romania for an indefinite period of time, our correspondent Daniela Simionescu reports.

Chebeleu: Reconciliation Offer Correct, Opportune

AU0712132195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During a news conference today, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, the presidency spokesman, said that Romanian-Hungarian historic reconciliation proposal initiated by the Romanian president [Ion Iliescu] proves to be, in an increasingly visible way, a realistic and credible political initiative.

Mr. Chebeleu disavowed the statement made by Bela Pomogats, the president of the Writers' Union of Hungary, who termed that initiative as wrong and inopportune. The spokesman found it regrettable that such antireconciliation stances are also to be constantly found in declarations made by certain political leaders of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania. Such stances betray an obsolete, anti-European, intolerant, xenophobic, and chauvinistic spirit.

Mr. Chebeleu assessed that the initiative is correct and opportune for both the Romanian and Hungarian nations, as well as the ethnic Hungarians in Romania and the Romanians in Hungary, and for the European spirit in which we are all trying to integrate.

At the same news conference, the spokesman pointed out that the Romanian president is concerned by the convergent signs evincing the tendency to revive the Iron Guard movement, and he requests all government institutions to take drastic steps to prevent the expanding of such manifestations and the revival of the Iron Guard movement, the latter representing a direct threat to the democratic evolution of the country.

'No Territorial Claims' on Ukraine

AU0712214495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At today's news conference, presidential spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said that the proposal on a historic Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation launched by Romania's president is realistic, credible, correct, and opportune for the two nations, for the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary, and for the European spirit in which they all strive to integrate. [passage omitted]

Answering a question about what a journalist called the difference between Ukraine and Romania on the Snakes Island [Insula Serpilor], the presidential spokesman said that this problem can be fully solved through negotiations. Romania has no territorial claims. All it wants is to avoid the perpetuation of certain injustices regarding ownership of the island's continental shelf. The Romanian foreign minister's reference to arbitration by the International Court of Justice was but a possibility, which other countries have also resorted to in order to delimit their continental shelf, Mr. Chebeleu said.

Hungarian Official Calls For 'Self-Government'

AU0812104395 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 4 Dec 95 p 4

[Article by Paul Florescu and Cristian Mihai Chis: "Laszlo Labody Says That the Future of Hungarians in Romania Means Self-Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Laszlo Labody, chairman of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Border [HTMH], who has been on a fact-finding visit to several counties in Transylvania, met in Sfantu Gheorghe, last Friday, 1 December, with representatives of the local organizations of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] and with representatives of the local administration of Covasna County. At a news conference held on that occasion, he briefed the press on the

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problems raised by the hosts and on the Hungarian Government's position regarding certain aspects of the bilateral Romanian-Hungarian relations. Labody said that the decisions on belonging to an ethnic group or another should not be influenced administratively, but should be left to those directly interested to make their own free choice. He said that the Hungarians in Romania would feel at home here if the country becomes prosperous and democratic. Right now, Labody said, the Hungarian parents are being indirectly encouraged to enroll their children in Romanian schools. Likewise, the Hungarian theaters in Romania receive fewer funds and are obliged to charge more for their tickets than the Romanian theaters, the HTMH chairman said. Referring to the relationship between the Budapest Government and the UDMR, Laszlo Labody told the press that the position of the Horn [Gyula Horn, Hungary's prime minister] government is not dictated by the UDMR; nor is the UDMR's policy dictated by Budapest. Regarding the historic Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, the HTMH chairman said the idea is also included in the 1994 electoral program of the Hungarian Socialist Party and that "it is very good that President Ion Iliescu took this initiative."

On 2 December, in Cluj, the Hungarian dignitary said that the South Tirol model cannot be exactly adapted to the situation in Romania. The Hungarian state secretary said that the future of the Hungarian population in Romania lies in self-government and that it directly depends on the economic and democratic development of Romania. Referring to the Law on Education, Laszlo Labody said that "the democratic character of this law leaves something to be desired." He also expressed his surprise at the fact that the latest student strikes have caused Romania's Parliament to resume the discussion of this law, while the draft signed by 500,000 Hungarians was not deemed worthy of discussion.

SRI Expects Political, Social Life To Stabilize

AU0712190395 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Romanian Intelligence Service Speaks Out—Through the Mouth of Nicolae Ulieru—Against Political Banditry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the opening of his news conference in Iasi on 30 November, Mr. Nicolae Ulieru, spokesman of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], said that the social and political life in Romania will undergo a stabilization process in the future, which is susceptible of being very near-at-hand. In this respect, Mr. Ulieru said, the Bucharest newspapers will be reduced to half or a third of their present number so that they can better represent the more important trends in forming and informing the public opinion. Right now, Mr. Ulieru said, there are bigger or smaller powers with traditional interests in Romania, which are promoting a policy of penetrating the political, social, military, intelligence, and counterintelligence structures of our country. In this respect, the SRI does not always have the most adequate means to counteract such activities. Regarding terrorism, Mr. Ulieru said, Romania has not been spared this phenomenon either in the past or the present. "Political banditry has been a constant feature of the country's modern history, beginning with the assassinations committed by the Iron Guardists, the murder of the Jilava prisoners in November 1940, and the physical elimination of their adversaries by the communists. This phenomenon has continued after 1989 as well."

CDR Head Presents 'Contract With Romania'

AU3011081595 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 24 Nov 95 p 2

["Contract With Romania" document presented by Professor Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania—CDR, at the meeting of the CDR National Council in Bucharest, on 23 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. Within 200 days, the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] will ensure that all land owners who are not involved in lawsuits will take possession of their lands, and it will issue ownership titles to all persons whose right to land ownership has been recognized.

2. Within 200 days, the CDR will submit to Parliament a new set of laws according to which: —The former land estates, which were turned into state agricultural enterprises, will be parceled out, on a priority basis, to families with many children, young peasants without land, young people willing to become farmers, agricultural experts who have settled in villages, and other persons entitled to them. The land plots on which research institutes and seed farms were set up will be excepted from parceling out. —Agricultural taxes will be canceled until the year 2000. —The right of the peasants to owning their means of production, which they were deprived of on joining the agricultural production cooperatives, will be reinstated, so that they can obtain reparations. —All forests and commons will be returned to their lawful owners. —The peasants will have access to direct credits to acquire fertilizers, herbicides, seed, diesel oil, fodder, and other goods required for agricultural production as well as to purchase plows, tractors, and other agricultural equipment. The interest rate on these credits will be reduced to half of the interest rate

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usually required by the banks, with the rest being subsidized by the government. These credits can also be paid back with agricultural produce. —An appropriate framework for the sale of the peasants' production will be ensured, including by setting up agricultural stock exchanges.

3. Within 200 days, the CDR will submit to Parliament a law according to which the young agricultural experts as well as the teachers, physicians, and priests settling down in villages will receive plots for houses and facilities for building their dwellings, together with a hectare of agricultural land.

4. The pensions of the cooperative peasants in agricultural production cooperatives will be calculated from the moment they started working in agriculture. The pension will amount to at least half of the minimum salary in the economy.

5. The young people will be ensured real facilities for obtaining dwellings, by facilitating their access to land plots and long-term credits, with a maximum 10-percent interest on them. A parallel program will be developed for those setting up a family. The National Fund for Dwellings will be set up.

6. Within 200 days, blueprints for student hostels with 10,000 beds will be completed and the hostels themselves will be commissioned within the following 18 months.

7. Within 200 days, the CDR will present a government program on guaranteeing economic integration of young people and assisting people who get their first jobs. Until they find a working place, education system graduates will receive social assistance.

8. Within 200 days, all social security pensions will be recalculated in accordance with the average salaries of the respective professions. The social security budget and the pension fund will be removed from government control. The Autonomous House of Pensions will be reinstated under private administration.

9. Within 200 days, the minimal social indicators for determining the cost of living and a decent living standard will be established after agreement has been reached with the trade unions, the employers' unions, and pensioners' organizations, and so forth. These indicators will be used to correctly and openly fix the minimum salary and the index curve.

10. Within 200 days, legal measures will be taken to correctly fix the prices at basic products and services, such as food (milk, bread, meat), public services (electricity, water, thermal energy), and medicines for children and pensioners.

11. Within 200 days, a law will be promoted to ensure that women are entitled to a two-year paid leave after giving birth to a child and to a monthly allowance representing 10 percent of the average salary in the economy for each child under 16 years of age in their care.

12. Within 200 days, the CDR will promote a law on reducing, up to canceling, the tax on reinvested profits to create new jobs, increase productivity, and computerize all activities.

13. Within 200 days, the system of dues and taxes for the population will be revised, with a view to cutting down on taxes. Particularly taxes on incomes will be reduced.

14. Within 200 days, several government projects will be adopted, including: —Village streets will be paved and illuminated. In the coming two years, 30 percent of these works will be carried out from budget funds. —The supply of villages with water will be ensured. In the first two years, 30 percent of these works will be carried out from budget funds. —Villages will be linked to the telephone network. In four years, 60 percent of the telephone linking works will be carried out from budget funds. —All inhabited areas on Romanian territory will be connected to the electricity network, regardless of their size.

15. A law will be promoted and implemented on declaring and checking the wealth and incomes of the president, legislators, government members, and mayors. The cumulation of functions, as both dignitaries and members of the management boards of state enterprises, will be forbidden. In the case of private properties of dignitaries, their administration will be transferred to a managerial company, to be set up in accordance with legal provisions.

16. Within 200 days, a law will be adopted on banning activities behind which various speculative frauds—of the Caritas [bankrupt nationwide money multiplying scheme in operation during 1993-94] type—are hidden, and which can lead to individual tragedies and the emergence of rich people overnight.

17. Within 200 days, the punishments for murder, rape, robbery, theft, corruption, and crimes committed by public servants against civic interests will be made harsher. The budget funds allocated to ensuring public order and security will be increased.

18. Within 200 days, a law on territorial redivision and administration will be promoted in Parliament, by giving priority consideration to the counties and localities abusively abolished.

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19. Within 200 days, the budget funds allocated to key sectors for the country's future—such as education, health, culture, research, and defense—will be increased.

20. Within 200 days, the CDR will present a government program on rebuilding and developing the infrastructure: highways, railroads, airports, harbors, and the telecommunications network. These projects will be given priority, by utilizing foreign capital, and their implementation will create many jobs in various fields throughout the country.

If all these promises are not fulfilled by the respective deadlines, it means that we violated the present contract, which you are signing by voting for the CDR; consequently, you are entitled to give up on us.

[Signed] The CDR

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Government Endorses Agreement on NATO Transit

AU0712164695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Report by Meta Grmek]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At its regular session today, the government endorsed a proposal on the agreement between the Republic of Slovenia and NATO on the passing of units through Slovenia to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The said agreement, which is similar to the one that NATO suggested regarding Hungary, will, according to Borut Suklje, also help to improve relations between Slovenia and NATO. [passage omitted]

Slovak Government Delegation Arrives in Ljubljana

LD0612210895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At around midday today a Slovak Government delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in Ljubljana. The three-day working visit to Slovenia and Bulgaria began with talks with a Slovene delegation led by Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek. With more details about the results of the meeting and the program of the visit, here is our special correspondent travelling with the delegation, Ivan Bielko:

[Bielko] [Passage omitted] Slovene-Slovak trade has made significant progress thanks to the signing of a free trade agreement that came into force at the beginning of last year. Trade turnover reached approximately (?$50) million in 1993, but in the first nine months of this year it was already up to almost $100 million. The fact that Slovenia is going to be an official member of the Central European Free Trade Agreement [CEFTA] effective 1 January of next year heralds the further expansion of Slovak-Slovene trade and manufacturing cooperation.

The two governments took a step toward closer cooperation today with the signing of an agreement on air transport. The opening today of a Slovak diplomatic mission in Ljubljana will certainly also contribute toward this closer cooperation. At their midday meeting the government delegations of the two countries agreed to revise the existing treaties upon which relations are founded, as well as the need to sign an agreement on the prevention of double taxation and agreements in the spheres of security, agriculture, education, and culture.

In a statement to the press, Prime Minister Meciar praised the constructiveness of the Slovene Government. Slovene Prime Minister Drnovsek said that this visit strengthened exisiting good relations between the two countries. They have many common aims and common problems, and so cooperation is mutually beneficial, he said.

Meciar Views CEFTA Entry

LD0712180995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak Government delegation, headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, was received in Ljubljana today by Slovene parliament Speaker Josef Skolc.

At the meeting Prime Minister Meciar asked Skolc to describe the work of our parliament. He stressed that Slovakia would next year become the chairing country of the Central European Free Trade Agreement [CEFTA] and that further expansion of CEFTA would be a priority. Slovakia regards Slovenia's admittance into CEFTA, effective 1 January, a Slovak achievement.

Slovene parliament Speaker Skolc thanked Prime Minister Meciar for Slovakia's efficient support and expressed the conviction that cooperation between the two countries would be intensified at parliamentary level.

In the afternoon Prime Minister Meciar ended his official visit to Slovenia and, together with the members of his delegation, left for Bulgaria.

Holds News Conference, Departs

AU0712171495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar today concluded his two-day official visit in Slovenia. After talks yesterday with Slovene Prime Minister Drnovsek and President Kucan, this morning he also had talks with State Chamber Chairman Skoljc. Following the talks, the two prime ministers held a news conference. Here is a report by Tomaz Gerden:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] The first to speak at a long and well-attended news conference was Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He said that they had frank and cordial talks with their Slovene hosts and had similar stands. Meciar said that Slovakia and Slovenia did not have any mutual problems. Slovakia also supports Slovene efforts to reach agreement on associate membership of the EU. In this respect, in the Italian-Slovene dispute, it does not take sides or want disputes from the past to hamper the buildup of a new Europe. The talks with Dr. Drnovsek also touched upon the Dayton agreement.

Slovakia hails Slovenia's membership in CEFTA. This organization, which does not represent a substitute to the EU, has also helped the furthering of economic links between the two countries.

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Meciar also said that the businessmen that were accompanying him had been very satisfied with the talks they had had in our country.

Dr. Drnovsek agreed with Mr. Meciar:

[Drnovsek] I concur with the prime minister's assessment regarding the success of the visit. Yesterday and today, we had the opportunity to talk about all open issues of our bilateral cooperation and about a number of international issues.

Slovenia is satisfied with and hails the development of bilateral relations with Slovakia. These relations have been developing very well in the last several years, since the two countries were created as new independent states. I am particularly glad that we have recently seen a considerable growth in mutual trade. This year, it is considerably greater than last year.

[Gerden] Later at the news conference, the prime minister spoke about the Slovene-Italian dispute and pointed out that Slovenia would not agree to a revision of international agreements reached in the past.

The Slovak Government delegation has now concluded its visit and has left for Bulgaria. [end recording]

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Federal

Kontic: FRY-U.S. Ties To Be Normalized 'Soon'

LD0712204195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 7 (TANJUG) — Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said Thursday during his meeting with the visiting delegation of the New York based Council for International Relations that there would soon be a normalisation of Yugoslav-American relations.

Kontic paid tribute to the U.S. Administration for its contribution to the reaching of the Dayton peace accord.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has reaffirmed its position as an indispensable factor of peace and stability in the Balkans, Kontic said. In order that it should play this part to the full, Yugoslavia, as the country maintaining the continuity of former Yugoslavia, must be reinstated without delay as a member of the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation and other international organisations and institutions, Kontic said.

The U.S. delegation is headed by Columbia university professor Topping Seymour, the chairman of the preventive action center of the southern Balkans project. The American guests informed the Yugoslav premier with the plans of the center which was recently formed within the Council for International Relations to act on the long- term settlement of problems.

French 'Threats' Over Missing Pilots Rejected

LD0712153095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG) — In connection with the latest, quite unacceptable and inappropriate statements by senior representatives of France, and various commentaries in the French media concerning the fate of the two French pilots shot down at the end of August over Pale, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has pointed out the following in a press statement:

The French pilots were shot down during NATO military operations against the territory of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

Motivated by its humanitarian and peaceloving objectives, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] reacted positively to the French request for it to use its good offices to obtain all relevant information on the pilots that were shot down — their fate, where they were, what their state of health was — all with the aim of helping them to be released.

The fact that its efforts hitherto have not produced the desired results in no way casts doubt on the sincere interest and readiness of the FRY to clear up this case once and for all.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs resolutely rejects all tendentious interpretations of the incident involving the two French pilots and attempts to politicize it and misuse it in order to exert pressure on and make threats against the FRY. These interpretations are quite unacceptable and run counter to joint interests and cooperation in developing and strengthening peace in this part of Europe.

Belgrade Expects To Soon Renew IMF Membership

LD0712224295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2217 GMT 7 Dec 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 7 (TANJUG) — The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fully expects to normalise relations with the International Monetary Fund and renew its membership in the organisation as the country perpetuating the former Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government commission for the international conference on the former Yugoslavia noted on Thursday that a full implementation of the Bosnia peace agreement would finally restore peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and create conditions for economic reconstruction and normalisation of relations in the region.

The suspension of sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro will also help normalise relations and consolidate peace in the Balkans, the commission said at a session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic.

In late November, the U.N. Security Council suspended the comprehensive and mandatory sanctions it had imposed on Yugoslavia in May 1992 for its alleged involvement in the Bosnian civil war.

After the sanctions were introduced, Yugoslavia was denied the right to participate in the U.N. General Assembly and other U.N. forums and specialized agencies.

TANJUG learns from U.N. sources in New York that the Security Council has drafted a resolution to restore this right to Yugoslavia.

Central Bank Chief on Reviving Economy

LD0512204995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2043 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 5 (TANJUG) — Yugoslav Central Bank Governor Dragoslav

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Avramovic stated satisfaction with the commitment of its businessmen to contribute to reviving the economy through higher exports.

He told foreign and domestic reporters in Belgrade Tuesday that "Program 2", which he authored, apart from a change in the exchange rate of the dinar, includes also liberalization of foreign trade, doing away with administrating as well as ownership changes.

One of the program's main goal was to effect competitiveness on both the domestic and foreign markets, said Avramovic.

He added that a realistic exchange rate of the dinar, customs that would not exceed 30 percent, appropriate protection of domestic economy, on the one hand and sufficient incentive for exporters, on the other. [sentence as received]

The program could not function in the long run unless ownership changes were effected. This, however, did not mean that socially- owned enterprises must automatically be eliminated. These enterprises should be transformed into stock companies and then distribute property rights between the employed and the pension funds.

The governor stated moderate optimism as regards future development of the Yugoslav economy and emphasized that it was based on the available industrial facilitites, the constancy of agriculture, highly-trained experts, exceptional flexibility of the system and adjustability of firms and population to changes.

Reconstruction of the Yugoslav economy would require a stepped-up economic growth — from 8 percent to 10 percent annually, he said and pointed out that cost of production in Yugoslavia was low and with a realistic exchage rate progress could be made.

Serbia

President Milosevic Receives U.S. Delegation

LD0712180395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG) — President Slobodan Milosevic today received a delegation of the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, which is paying a visit to our country.

Representatives of this prominent institution, in lengthy and frank talks with President Milosevic, expressed their interest in current political trends and the situation in the Balkans. There was also discussion of a number of internal political questions of importance to the further successful development of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

The conviction was expressed that the coordinated efforts of the United States, the international community, and the FRY — in terms of strengthening security in the Balkans and especially developing equal cooperation and relations between the peoples and states in this region — should continue.

It was pointed out that the FRY and the United States have a joint interest in renewing the dynamic development of relations and comprehensive cooperation.

DSS Official Terms NATO Deployment 'Occupation'

AU0712193695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by "J.S.": "Jovanovic: NATO's Arrival is Occupation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade — Milorad Jovanovic, spokesman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], gave the assessment at yesterday's regular press conference that the NATO peacekeeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina was "clearly occupation."

According to Jovanovic, Slobodan Milosevic violated the Constitution when he agreed to the part of the peace plan to have NATO support troops stationed in Serbia, because he did so without the Assembly's consent, which in other countries is standard practice in such matters.

Reiterating his party's stance that the reasons for the war have not been removed, as the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina is detrimental to the Serbs, there is a great problem inherent in the suspension of sanctions because the so-called "outer wall," which bans the presence of international monetary institutions, is still in place and the Serb side will be requested to cooperate with the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. Jovanovic concluded that the peace agreement means capitulation.

It is clear that the agreement cannot be changed and it will have to be accepted as it is in Paris. However, our delegation should demand an annex to leave open the issue of Sarajevo's status, as has already been done in the case of Brcko, the DSS spokesman said and stressed that the existing solution for Sarajevo was actually a prerequisite for the ethnic cleansing of Serbs.

Commenting on the internal situation, Jovanovic said that Serbia spent the war years slumbering "like a bear in hibernation" and has now been caught off guard by the situation in Europe, which has changed in many respects: from technology, legislation and reforms, to democratization. Jovanovic explained that

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the Democratic Alliance, that is, the four parties (the DSS, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Liberal Party, and the Serbian People's Party, which will soon be joined by the Serbian Council for the Protection of Rights and Liberties) will conduct joint actions, and that a "joint participation" in elections will be discussed.

All of us, with the exception of Djindjic's democrats, have already experienced joint work in DEPOS and we hope that we shall not repeat the mistakes that led to its disintegration, Jovanovic said.

Activities of Military 'Volunteer' Leaders Viewed

AU0812082795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 95 p 9

[Unattributed report: "As Much Politics as Money"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The war is beginning to smell of mothballs, just like the uniforms of the leaders in Serbia who personally led volunteers, or dispatched them in great numbers to the front. At the moment, they are straightening their neckties and working out peace-time political guidelines, and some of them have even shown literary aspirations to write memoirs or a desire to open a cafeteria.

Exceptions still exist. The leader with the greatest war experience, who was called both angel and devil and who has aroused impressive interest among international institutions, Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan, is still looking at the world through the sights of his gun, while keeping his confectionery business in reserve.

"I have actually taken off my uniform, but I spend most time in Erdut with my Serbian Volunteer Guard, which is on the first line of defense," Raznatovic says, explaining that it is too early to resume his role as chairman of the Party of Serbian Unity.

Warlord Sinisa Vucinic, chairman of the Serbian Royalist Movement, has quite readily defrosted his creativity to support his goal: "Strong Serbianhood and monarchy." In any case, he considers the Dayton Agreement to be the most that can realistically be achieved. He also explains that his volunteers, the Serbian Hawks (whom he personally lead in battles), are generally resuming their civilian lives.

For the sake of the unification of all Serbs, Vucinic is satisfied to cooperate even with a good and proven Croat like Dobroslav Paraga [leader of the Croatian Party of Rights, HSP]. "When Croatia annexes the Croat-Muslim Federation, the Serb Republic will automatically fall to us as our share," Vucinic says, explaining why he has established contacts with Paraga. For the time being, in order not to spoil their cooperation, they are not tackling the Krajina question, but are only working on Bosnia.

"The Golden Hand, an organization whose goal is to take revenge on Genscher [former German foreign minister], Claes [former NATO secretary general], and the rest of the anti-Serb company, is still warming up," Vucinic explains, refusing to confirm that the organization is involved in terrorism. His diverse activities also include the well-known "metaphysical state and Serbian monarchy."

Another one who feels the existence of The Hague tribunal is not a good enough reason to deny support for armed involvement is the controversial chief of the White Eagles, Dragoslav Bokan, who is not giving up his political engagement. For a successful fresh start, however, one needs some more up-to-date methods. His co-ownership of a cafeteria near the church of St. Alexander Nevski in the Belgrade district of Dorcol has been interpreted by many as his political retirement. As Bokan explained recently, however, that is just an attempt to secure political and intellectual independence, that is, to secure a regular monthly income to cover his expenses. It can be said that one makes as much politics as money.

Thus, between prison and the hyperproduction of books, Vojislav Seselj [president of the Serbian Radical Party, SRS] is also engaged in politics. Judging by the number of reports carried by the state-run television at the time when he cooperated quite well with the authorities, one can draw the conclusion that the greatest number of volunteers were dispatched to the front by the Radicals.

The front was also supplied with fresh forces by the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], which first created, and then gave up the Serbian Guard. The public remembers the Guard mostly because some of its leaders (Giska and Beli) got killed under strange circumstances. The last celebrated commander of the Guard, Branislav Lainovic Dugi, now owns a nightclub in Novi Sad.

In the SNO [Serbian National Renewal], it is said that Chairman Mirko Jovic (who smuggled gasoline even before the war) was present on the front only as a political activist. In the SNO, it is also claimed, just like in other parties, that its members were not involved in fighting, unless they were mobilized for regular army units.

On the other hand, according to the official version of this whole story, no supreme, order-issuing leader existed in Serbia at all. Despite that, there are proposals coming from the "base" that he should be granted a peace award.

[Box, p 9]

The number of volunteers killed in the war has not been established yet (just like the number of the other

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fallen), but it is quite certain that it at least a four-figure number. Whether anyone, apart from their family members, remembers them, and how, is the question. The answer can be sought in the well-known proverb "people will turn worthy deeds into gold."

Minister Comments on Plans for Refugees' Return

AU0812102495 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 95 p 11

[Report by Stana Ristic on interview with Serbian Town Planning and Housing Minister Branislav Ivkovic; place and date not given: "There Is Hope For Refugees and Displaced Persons"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After the signing of the peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio, and the lifting of the UN-imposed sanctions, the problems of refugees and displaced persons, given the new conditions, are not unsolvable. On the contrary, there are now realistic chances of undertaking organized actions, in the short and long term, to improve the difficult situation and definitely resolve the problem in the near future. What is the situation in the FRY at the moment regarding refugees and displaced persons? What has the government of Serbia done, what is it doing, and what will it do to make possible for the refugees and displaced persons to cope in the coming winter? We discussed these questions with Branislav Ivkovic, minister in the government of Serbia in charge of the realization of the program of care for refugees and displaced persons.

What are the basic characteristics of the humanitarian situation in our country?

This Is Not Taking Refuge, But an Exodus....

"The humanitarian situation, generally speaking, is extremely difficult. Yugoslavia is caring for 430,000 refugees and around 200,000 displaced persons. We have been doing so over the last four years under the sanctions. International organizations have been helping us, but their aid has covered between 10 to 15 percent of the aggregate humanitarian requirements. After the signing of the peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio, the lifting of the sanctions, and the change in attitude of the international community toward the FRY, however, conditions are developing in which we shall be able to resolve the problems more easily," Minister Ivankovic says. [passage omitted]

"The majority of refugees and displaced persons, some 90 percent of them, are accommodated in private households. Considering that among the refugees there are around 100,000 persons who are not Serbs, that they have also found refuge in the FRY, and that the FRY citizens have shared their hardships with them as if they were their own, then it is quite understandable to demand that the international humanitarian organizations should be helping more than they have so far in order for us to overcome the difficult situation and to resolve the problem permanently," Ivankovic says. [passage omitted]

"The problems are very difficult," Ivankovic continues, "and can be resolved only in phases. The first phase is accommodation and the supply of provisions. The second phase is the final solution of the position that the refugees and displaced persons are in. The problem of accommodation has been resolved somehow, but now, the greatest problem is caring for the sick, the elderly, and the children.

The second phase of the program of care, which involves finding a lasting solution for the problem of refugees and displaced persons. will start later in March next year. That is the assessment of the international humanitarian organizations regarding the realistic beginning of repatriation and, in view of the documents worked out in Dayton, Ohio, the political and legal conditions have been created for such an action. The program of the Serbian Government is attuned to such dynamics.

"It is clear that without the establishment of a lasting peace, there cannot be any lasting solution of the problem of refugees and displaced persons. Our country has also made a contribution in that regard. The signing of the peace agreement in Dayton was a turning point, so that the refugees and displaced persons are now able to say: There is hope for us!" Ivankovic points out.

According to Minister Ivankovic, it is very important that the refugees and displaced persons will have an opportunity in the coming spring to reconsider their position, to judge the situation, and to make a decision by themselves on whether they will return to their homeland or remain for good in the FRY. According to the Dayton documents, the international community and humanitarian organizations will be obliged to secure the conditions for the safe return to their homeland and a safe life there after their return. If they decide to stay in the FRY, it is necessary to secure just compensation for the property they left behind.

Refugees Commissioner Meets Russian Delegation

LD0412225695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2218 GMT 4 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 4 (TANJUG) — Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina on Monday informed a delegation of the Russian

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Ministry for Emergencies about the humanitarian situation and finding accommodation for refugees and exilees in the territory of Serbia, and about the article on taking care of exiled persons.

A statement by the republican Ministry of Information said Morina pointed out the importance of cooperation between the two governments, especially in providing aid for rebuilding war-torn areas to which refugees could return after the Dayton accords are signed in Paris on Dec. 14.

About 700,000 displaced persons have found refuge in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia since the beginning of armed conflicts in the former Yugoslav Federation.

The Russian delegation said it would do its utmost to help provide humanitarian aid both on a bilateral basis and through corresponding arrangements with international humanitarian organizations to provide greater aid for the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

The two sides underscored the need for a more equal distribution of funds for reconstructing devastated areas in former Yugoslavia.

Morina thanked the Russian Government for the aid it provided in enabling children refugees to recuperate in Russian resorts, the statement said.

GSS: Pale Serbs 'Involved in Many Shady Deals'

AU0712163795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by "I.K.": "Part of the Pale Leadership Is Involved in Many Shady Deals"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade — The referendum on the Dayton agreement over the parts of Sarajevo to be under Serb control, taking place two days before the Paris conference, is an obstruction to the agreement. Sectors of the Pale leadership have been involved in a lot of shady deals. The use of the referendum as a means for internal showdowns in the Pale leadership is encouraging the exodus of the population. The aim of the referendum is to prevent the arrival of the military forces. This was stated by Zarko Korac, vice president of the Civic Alliance of Serbia [GSS] at a news conference yesterday. He also said: "The Bosnian Government has made some irresponsible statements, and problems in Sarajevo do exist, but an exodus is no solution."

Korac appealed to Sarajevo Serbs living in the parts under the control of the Pale regime to remain in the city. Explaining his view, Korac said: "Between 30,000 and 50,000 Serbs have remained in the parts of Sarajevo under the control of the government forces. There are still strong family ties among the people in the Serb and Bosnian parts of Sarajevo. In addition to the international organizations, the Serb Civic Council should also act as a bridge for establishing cooperation among the people who lived on the two sides of the border." [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Government Survives No-Confidence Motion

LD0712200595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Cetinje, 7 Dec (TANJUG) — With a vote of confidence in the republic's government, the Montenegrin Assembly this evening concluded its three-day session in Cetinje, which was devoted to the implementation of the government's policy in the area of environmental planning. Of 72 deputies, 39 voted against the censure motion in Milo Djukanovic's government, while 33 deputies were in favor of replacing the government.

Deputies of the majority Democratic Party of Socialists voted against the no-confidence motion; opposition parties were of a different opinion.

The no-confidence motion in the Montenegrin Government was initiated by deputies of three opposition parties — the People's Party, the Liberal Alliance, and the Serbian Radical Party. The opposition parties maintained that the "government violated the Republic's Constitution and laws in the sphere of environmental planning, making it impossible for the government to remain in office."

In the course of the session today the opposition stood by their allegation that the Valdanos bay near Ulcinj [on the Albanian border] was given to the Yugoslav Army in an illegal way, which is evident from its incompatibility with the current environmental plans for Montenegro.

Opposition deputies said they would give up their demands if government representatives produced a document on the basis of which, as they said, a section of Montenegrin territory was usurped.

Government representatives and deputies of the Democratic Party of Socialists say that such documentation exists, but cannot be publicly revealed as it is classed as state secret.

Government representatives say that the Valdanos bay was given to the Navy in accordance with the relevant laws, and that environmental planning policy was consistently adhered to.

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Russians Hold Talks on Economic Assistance

LD0712225695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2239 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Dec 7 (TANJUG) — Experts from the Russian Ministry of Emergency Situations have had two days of talks in Montenegro about Russia joining in investments into reconstructing Montenegro's economy after the anti-Yugoslav sanctions' suspension. Montenegro, together with Serbia, forms the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Russian delegation had [words indistinc] with Montenegcin Minister of Industry, Energy and Mining Miodrag Gomilanovic in the Montenegrin capital of Podgorica on Thursday.

The Russian experts showed special interest in cooperating with the Podgorica aluminium factory, specifically in the implemenation of its development programmes.

They discussed also the possibility of supplying Podgorica's biggest industrial complex with Russian fuel, raw materials and semi-manufactures.

A similar arrangement was considered for a paper factory in the town of Berane that should be inaugurated in mid-1996.

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